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# FRIENDS AND THE WAR

Addresses delivered at a Conference of  
Members of the Society of Friends and  
others, held at Llandudno, September  
25th—30th, 1914

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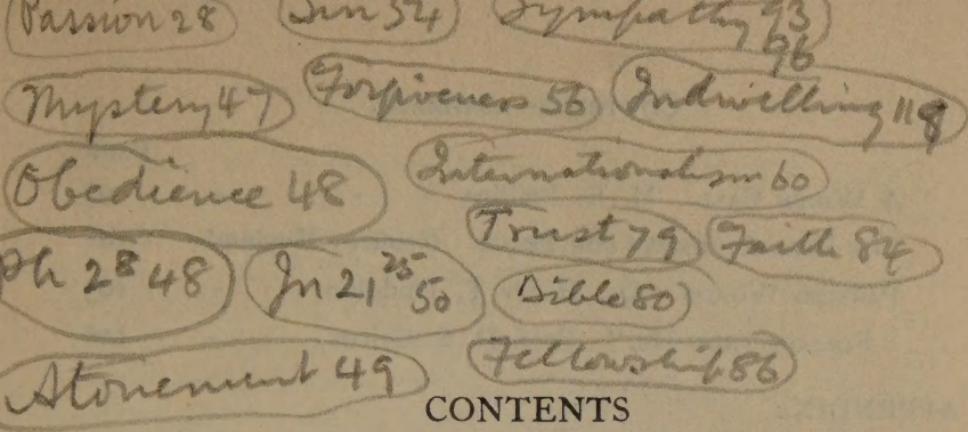
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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE - - - - -	7
THE MESSAGE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS. By Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin - - - - -	11
GENERAL REVIEW OF THE CONFERENCE - - - - -	16

### ADDRESSES :

CHRIST AND THE WORLD SITUATION. Mary Higgs - - - - -	28
CHRIST AND THE WORLD SITUATION. Richard Roberts - - - - -	32
CHRIST THE ANSWER TO THE WORLD'S NEED: IN NATIONAL LIFE. Herbert G. Wood, M.A. - - - - -	40
THE MEANING OF THE CROSS. Prof. J. H. Moulton - - - - -	46
THE MEANING OF THE CROSS. Richard Roberts - - - - -	53
CHRIST THE ANSWER TO THE WORLD'S NEED: IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Edward Grubb, M.A. - - - - -	60
CONSTRUCTIVE WORK FOR PEACE. G. W. Nasmyth - - - - -	65
CONSTRUCTIVE WORK FOR PEACE. Arnold S. Rowntree, M.P. - - - - -	72
"QUIETNESS AND CONFIDENCE." L. Violet Hodgkin - - - - -	76
THE DIVINE RESOURCES. Prof. D. S. Cairns - - - - -	79
A CHRISTIAN SPIRIT IN TIME OF WAR. Gulielma Crosfield	87
A CHRISTIAN SPIRIT IN TIME OF WAR. Helen M. Sturge	91
FRIENDS AND A UNIVERSAL SPIRIT. Elsie M. Cadbury - - - - -	93
FRIENDS AND A UNIVERSAL SPIRIT. Mary S. Braithwaite	96
A WIDER CALL. Theodora Wilson Wilson - - - - -	98

## CONTENTS—*continued.*

	PAGE
A WIDER CALL. M. E. Phillips - - - - -	99
THE REAL ARGUMENT FOR PEACE. Geoffrey Hoyland - - - - -	101
PARTING WORDS. Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin - - - - -	103
“ FOLLOW THOU ME.” Prof. D. S. Cairns - - - - -	106
 APPENDIX :	
MEMORANDUM ON THE CONFERENCE (issued July, 1914) - - - - -	111
MEMORANDUM FROM THE SOCIALIST QUAKER SOCIETY - - - - -	124
 GROUP REPORTS :	
WAR AND THE SOCIAL ORDER - - - - -	126
FRIENDS AND ENLISTMENT (Men only) - - - - -	129
FRIENDS AND ENLISTMENT (Women only) - - - - -	131
FRIENDS IN PUBLIC AND BUSINESS LIFE - - - - -	132
 MANIFESTO ON CHRIST AND WAR - - - - -	135
LETTER TO MEN OF MILITARY AGE - - - - -	138
LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE - - - - -	140
LETTER TO FRIENDS IN AMERICA - - - - -	142
SOME PEACE QUESTIONS - - - - -	143
COMMITTEES WORKING FOR PEACE IN CONNECTION WITH THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS - - - - -	146

## PREFACE

THE Society of Friends is known in the world as a body that objects, on religious grounds, to war and militarism. For 250 years it has maintained, not always perhaps with entire consistency, a "Testimony against all War" as inconsistent with the spirit and teaching of the Gospel of Christ.

Can that "Testimony" be upheld, without hypocrisy and unreality, at a time when the British nation is engaged in what the great majority of its people believe to be a war for an unselfish and righteous cause?

And what is the nature of the "Testimony"? Does it mean that so long as members of the Society, and other conscientious objectors, are excused from fighting, they are content to stand idle, and allow others in their place to risk their lives in defence of the country? Or does it mean that in their view the nation itself can, and should, follow the teaching of Christ, and refuse to arm itself, even in self-defence?

Such are the questions discussed in this Report, which it is believed may be of interest and value, not only to Friends, but to many others who are in sympathy with their position, but are in perplexity as to what it involves, and how it can be maintained.

The promoters of the Conference desire to express their deep indebtedness to leaders and teachers from other religious bodies, whose Christian experience and depth of conviction were of the greatest value to the deliberations. Their

principal addresses will be found, almost verbatim, in this Report.

The Conference was the outcome of a desire, which arose almost simultaneously among several different committees that are carrying on the active work of the Society of Friends, that its life should be raised to a higher level of efficiency and power by a meeting at which, in the atmosphere of prayer and devotion, the greatness of the world's needs might be considered, and the richness of the Divine resources be set forth. To quote from the first announcement of the Conference :

"The conditions of to-day constitute a challenge to the whole Church of Christ, and to the faith we profess. Is our Lord able to be Lord of the whole human race, and unify the discords between nations and classes of men? Can He fully meet the deepest longings of every human soul, and lead every human personality to its perfect fulfilment? Is His Gospel a satisfactory message of life and hope to India and China, as well as to England and America, to the toiler and the outcast as well as to the comfortable middle classes, to 'seekers' of all kinds, practical, intellectual, or mystical? These are some of the great questions which clamour for a clear answer from our generation."

Much thought was given, by the joint Committee appointed to make arrangements for the Conference, to the best way of preparing the minds of those likely to attend it for the consideration of these great and vital questions. A carefully prepared Memorandum, setting forth the aims of the proposed Conference, was circulated among them, and will be found printed in the Appendix to this Report (page 111).

The outbreak of the great European War at the beginning of August, and the fact that our own country was drawn into it, brought the Committee into anxious consideration whether, under the altered conditions, the Conference could be rightly held. Finally, it was decided to proceed with it, but to shorten its duration, and to concentrate

attention on the great challenge to Christianity involved in the outbreak of war between professedly Christian nations, and on the vastest scale the world has ever known.

Among the questions of pressing difficulty that arose out of the new situation were such as these:—

What ought young men to do, who, convinced that war in general is wrong, yet believe that their country requires them to surrender their lives to its service—particularly when the need appears to be to hold in check an aggressive militarism that threatens to dominate the world, and to defend from wanton outrage a weaker nation?

In what ways is it possible for persons, who are assured that loyalty to Christ debars them absolutely from taking up arms, to serve their country and humanity in the same spirit of self-sacrifice as that of the soldier, and under the inspiration of the Cross of Christ?

How is it possible for Friends and others, set in responsible positions in the public life of a country that only partly accepts their principles, to serve their generation without disloyalty to the Prince of Peace? Is there a moral *second-best*, which alone is fitted for the practical affairs of the world?

What is the bearing of our Peace doctrine on social and industrial life, on the administration of justice, on the use of the police force, and on the competitive methods of business and commerce?

How is it conceivable that the Spirit of Christ can really govern the international relations of men?

These are among the questions—some of which in time of peace might perhaps appear academic and speculative—which the outbreak of war raised at once into urgent problems of practical life and duty. In the pages of this Report they will be found discussed in a calm and earnest spirit. That they were “settled” it would, of course, be far too much to assert. Perhaps no full solution of them is possible except in the light of a revelation, based on a depth of Christian experience that few, if any, of us have yet attained.

There is abundant room for the faith that Christ our Lord holds the answers to these difficulties, even where we are not yet near enough to Him in spirit to discover in detail what they are.

Further, consideration was given at the Conference to some of the practical openings, which the present situation offers in unique degree, for constructive peace efforts on the Christian basis: such as making our meeting-houses centres where men and women of good-will, professing many creeds, may gather in fellowship to find the Divine presence and the peaceable spirit of Christ; seeking for closer unity with all outside our borders who are earnestly desiring to follow the way of peace; caring for the victims of the war; and so forth.

The pressing need of deeper study of our Peace principles, and of the foundations on which they rest, was urged upon us, and the means were considered by which such study may be widely undertaken by groups of Friends and others.

The Conference brought to many who were present, if not to all, a deeper sense of the meaning of discipleship, a new vision of the Cross, and a fresh call to self-consecration to the service of Christ. This came to us through some of the addresses, and in the prayers that were vocally offered, but also in the times of silent waiting on God into which we entered often during the discussions, and in which our problems were illuminated by a light which seemed to come direct from the Source of all light and truth.

It should be clearly understood that the Society of Friends, in its official capacity, is not responsible for, or committed to, anything that appears in this Report.

Signed by the Editorial Committee of the Conference,

JOAN MARY FRY.

EDWARD GRUBB.

HENRY T. HODGKIN.

ARNOLD S. ROWNTREE.

JOHN S. STEPHENS.

## THE MESSAGE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.\*

By DR. HENRY T. HODGKIN.

THE present situation has brought about a considerable measure of perplexity in the minds of members of our Society. This is all to the good, in so far as it enables us to enter into the moral and intellectual perplexity of great masses of thinking men and women in this and other countries to-day.

What we need, however, is to see for ourselves a clear light upon the path of duty, and to be united, at any rate in a large measure, in feeling that we are called into some service appropriate to the present time. I hope that most of you may be ready in a general way to agree to the following constructive statement in regard to the position of our Society at this time. This does not close many questions which are still present to our minds, but rather gives a common starting-point from which to discuss them.

For us as a Society, our Peace principles are no mere excrescence. They are rooted in our whole philosophy of life, and based upon the loyalty which we profess to Jesus Christ. Many of us, during the last few weeks, have come to realise with almost startling freshness how fundamental to our Quaker position—to what we conceive to be the *Christian* position—is the protest which Friends have made against war. This protest we base firstly on our belief in human brotherhood, the Fatherhood of God, and the reverence

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\* This is the substance of an address delivered at the Conference on Sunday afternoon, September 27th.

which we believe is due from one brother in the family of God to another, and from one man who has within him the seed of Divine life to another who believes that the same is given to him. We base it secondly on freedom of conscience, which we believe to be essential to spiritual development, but which is contravened as soon as men, under the military system, are compelled to do things which, as private individuals, they would know to be gross violations of the moral law; so that they are not regarded as themselves answerable in the sight of God for what they would otherwise know to be utterly contrary to the will of God. We base our protest, thirdly, upon the belief that the supreme forces that are given to men are mental and spiritual, that the only decision in disputes between men or nations which can be the right and therefore the permanent one is a decision which rests upon moral grounds. We hold that the instant war is declared there is a surrender of the highest faculties, and that thereby the parties concerned bring into action a means of decision which bears no necessary relation to the rights of the case. Above all, we base our protest upon the fundamental truth that love is the supreme force in the universe, that the God who is revealed to us is not simply the God of the Old Testament—the God of war—but also the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. When nations fight one another the spirit of hatred cannot but be let loose, and the spirit of love suffers defeat.

Now if we base our belief upon the great fundamental facts upon which the whole of our Christian living is founded, we may fairly say that we must believe in a state of human society in which ultimately these fundamental principles will not be contravened by human action. If we are to work for such an ideal there must be some who proclaim it, and thereby help to its achievement. Those who have seen the highest must needs follow it, and those who feel that God is leading are under no possible doubt as to their duty to go where He leads. There may and will be difficult problems arising in connection with their duty, but these cannot make them swerve from the path. They will only drive them to think the harder, and pray the more,

that they may be better men and women. Only by drawing nearer to Christ shall we see the solution of some of these questions.

This does not mean that those of us who feel that we are to witness to this ideal call ourselves in any sense a spiritual aristocracy. There are many great truths to which men and women have to witness; but those who feel that this particular truth is given to them do believe that they must be set apart for it, that a prophetic mission is given to them, and that, as God's hand is laid upon them, they dare not draw back.

Further, the implications of this position for us are much greater than many of us have realised. They stretch out into all the relations of life, and they may mean for us a number of things which we have not as yet seen. The realities of this war, and the atmosphere in which we breathe to-day, have enabled us to see much farther than we did a few weeks ago. We have perpetually to ask ourselves, what are the implications of our acceptance of the call to fulfil this mission? Do they involve us in separating ourselves in any sense from the community? Do they involve us in refusing to pay taxes part of which are used for war? Do they involve us in accepting for ourselves a rule of poverty, or anything else which will in any measure make it more possible for us effectively to give the protest which we have to give, and make our peace message a real gospel with something in it that is worth giving to the world? These things must be thought out. Light is needed upon them; but the thing which seems to press itself upon us is that the circumstances of to-day have come as a fresh call to the Society of Friends, in its corporate capacity, to fulfil its prophetic mission.

In standing for these principles we proclaim to the world a truer ideal of *nationalism*. We believe that there is a danger of the military ideal asserting itself in our national life in the same way, if not to the same degree, as it has in Germany. In the end, it crushes the true nationalism, whose watchwords are service and freedom. We believe also that we proclaim a truer *internationalism*—in fact, the only possible internationalism—the only hope for races and

nations to come together in anything like mutual understanding for common aims. We believe further that we proclaim a truer *doctrine of the Church of Christ*. Serious Christian men the world over are to-day feeling the urgent necessity of a doctrine which is adequate to the world situation. The life of the Church depends upon an individual loyalty to Christ which cannot be surrendered to the State or to any other lesser loyalty. The Church is essentially world-wide, and its essential meaning and purpose breaks down when the Church urges or allows its members to make war upon one another. The weapons of the Church are not of this world. It stands for spiritual forces, and only as we learn to rely on these will the Church come to its own.

Lastly, if we are to accept such a mission for our Society and for those who, with us, are led to proclaim it, does it mean that there is no place for those who do not feel that they have been singled out individually to go all the way with the extremists? I would say emphatically, No. It does not mean that there is no place for such. It is a fact, however we look at it, that we have different ways of reaching the same goal. Some of us see the slower, the less dramatic, but the more difficult way, I sometimes think, of working step by step through present conditions to better things. Others hear the call to take the more dramatic way, to something which means an immediate sacrifice. The difference between right and wrong is so clear for them that they can only go that way. But, whichever way we go, if we are to move steadfastly and steadily to the same goal we must move together. We do not want to separate because some of us do not see all the way along such a path as I have suggested. As long as we intuitively feel that behind the ancient testimony of our Society there stands eternal truth, we can move together: we can help one another. Those who recognise that their eyes have not yet been fully opened, and that there are many difficulties which they have not met, and many problems which they have still to face, are yet called—we are all called together—to see whether, in this hour, we cannot serve our nation, serve the Church, serve the persons among whom we live, and serve our God,

in some way which will show truly that we are worthy of having had committed to us an ideal so great, so far-reaching, and so compelling in its demand upon all that is best in us.

## GENERAL REVIEW OF THE CONFERENCE.

THE Conference gathered at Llandudno on the afternoon of September 25th, in perfect autumn weather, which was maintained almost throughout its sittings. About 270 persons, members of the Society of Friends and others, were in attendance during the greater part of the time. They met in a Conference Hall towards the eastern end of the town, close to the sea and to various boarding-houses where accommodation had been provided for the members. The beautiful bay, shut in by the rugged limestone headlands of the Great and Little Orme, and backed by the Welsh mountains, provided a refreshing and stimulating environment for the labours of four strenuous days.

Each sitting of the Conference was begun with the singing of a hymn and with a quiet time of prayer and worship, and the devotional spirit was maintained throughout. No rigid programme of addresses or discussions had been arranged, but the various sittings were provisionally allotted for the consideration of such topics as the following :

Christianity and the World Situation.

Friends and the War: Our Duty under Present Conditions.

Christ the Sufficient Answer to the World's Need—

- (a) in National Life;
- (b) in International Relations.

The Meaning of the Cross.

Openings for Individual Service.

A Constructive Policy for the Nation.

"Quietness and Confidence," and the Divine Resources.  
The Maintenance of a Christian Spirit in Time of War.  
"Follow thou Me."

At the opening sitting, on Friday evening, the chairman, Henry T. Hodgkin, indicated the purpose of the Conference and its probable procedure; and the need of personal and collective penitence and heart-searching was feelingly expressed by A. Neave Brayshaw.

On Saturday morning the subject of "Christianity and the World Situation" was brought before the Conference by Mary Higgs and Richard Roberts. The first speaker dwelt on the thought that God was suffering under the present catastrophe, and called on us to be willing to share that suffering in the spirit of the passion of Christ. "Passion against wrong can only be met by the passion of suffering." We must be willing, as individuals and even as a nation, to be stripped that the will of God might be done.

Richard Roberts laid the situation before us with penetrating insight and breadth of view. The failure of our Christianity was mainly due to the fact that the nation, the Church, and individual Christians, had been willing to live on "a sub-Christian platform," and had not claimed for Christ the empire of the whole of life. Our very Protestantism had tended to individualism, and in a de-spiritualised form had produced Nietzsche. We had "bowed down to the little tin god of Progress," and fancied that humanity would go up a gently inclined plane to the City of God. We had failed to recognise the fact of sin, and we did not really know God. The war was making the real issues clear: we could no longer "drive Galilee and Corsica in double harness"; it must be one or the other. We could not believe in God and Dreadnoughts at the same time. If we would humble ourselves, this might be the greatest hour for the world's redemption since Calvary; for "the Divine order is ready to break into the world when men are ready to let it break into their hearts."

In the discussion that followed these stirring addresses it was urged that this was not God's war, but the Devil's, and that we must not take part in it; but if we stood aside it must be with the desire to seize every opportunity of co-operating with the Divine purpose that the evil might be turned into good. The Conference was urged to get into closer relations with those outside the Society of Friends who were standing against war—such as the Independent Labour Party, and persons like the five young University men who had issued a manifesto showing why as Christians they could not enlist. An agnostic, in whose district all the clergy were encouraging recruiting, was quoted as saying, "We shall never do any good till we get a higher morality than Christianity offers." This was the time above all others when the Society of Friends should stand firm in its allegiance to Christ.

The consideration of "Friends and the War," on Saturday afternoon and evening, was opened by Roderic K. Clark, who urged that the present was the great challenge of materialism to the eternal spiritual realities. Loyalty to Christ meant the vigorous exercise of faith, and if that loyalty seemed to conflict with others we must choose the highest. "What are Christians in the world for but to achieve the impossible through the help of God?"

The difficulties presented by this ideal standard, for those especially who were set in responsible positions in the public life of the nation, were frankly stated by several speakers. The experience of the Quaker governors of some of the early American Colonies, who frequently thought themselves compelled to acquiesce in preparations for defence, was alluded to. E. Richard Cross, as one who had been for many years concerned with the administration of justice, said that the duty of preventing and punishing wrong-doing lay on the State as well as on individuals. To stand by and see a wrong done debased the moral currency more than the use of force. The life of a nation was a precious and sacred thing, not to be lightly thrown away or trampled on. There seemed to be a need for a transitional ethic, for use while humanity

remained morally undeveloped. We had to consider not only the prophet of the new ideal, but the man whose place it was to carry out that ideal, as far as he could, in practical affairs. Until the Federation of Europe was accomplished, what was a statesman to do if a pirate state had to be kept in awe?

Professor J. H. Moulton, speaking as one who had come very near to the Quaker position, thought that under present conditions we might be compelled to recognise a moral "second-best," like the directions given by Moses for divorce, "for the hardness of men's hearts." He could not accept the view that self-defence on the part of a nation was necessarily selfish, and it certainly did not appear selfish to defend a weaker nation that had trusted our plighted word. Other speakers criticised the ordinary Peace doctrine as too narrow and partial in its application. The peace that it offered did not go to the root of the evil, for it left competition as the basis of our industrial life, and competition contained the root of war. If we would extirpate war, we must prepare a clean national body for the Spirit of Christ to enter.

Some of these criticisms were met in part by later speakers. In answer to Professor Moulton, it was said that Moses did his best to get his people to see the higher law, but they could not see it. We did, and therefore we must obey it at all costs. If everyone said the world was not ready for the higher law, how was progress possible? Another speaker urged that just in proportion as a cause was good, it was sacrilege to use material force to defend it. The principle of nationality was good and great, and it could resist extinction passively, just as a martyr sacrificed everything but the cause for which he died.

Joan M. Fry warned us against supposing we could "settle" these questions by argument. It meant a long spiritual struggle to find out how Christianity could be worked out in life. There were not two ethics, one for private and one for public life, but we must keep the two spheres somewhat distinct in our minds. Our personal ideal of "non-resistance" meant reliance on spiritual forces in

which the nation only partly believed. Before we could answer the question, "What ought England to have done about Belgium?" we should have to go far back, and discover what had led to the position in which our nation found itself. By the time war was declared, it had got, through too great a reliance on material forces, into a place where our personal ideals did not fit. We believed there was something Divine in all men, which would respond if we called it out by acting on our belief. We believed in a spiritual power which did not need violence, and it was for us to create centres of life where that spiritual power might develop. Our Peace doctrine was not negative; we were called to a great struggle for the spiritual life of the nation; and this was no easy thing, but demanded a deeper consecration than most of us had ever known. This thought of a great spiritual warfare, superseding the material strife, was further emphasized by Mary Higgs.

The discussion, which was frank and fearless, as well as quiet and restrained, was impressively closed by Herbert G. Wood, in an address on "Christ the Answer to the World's Need in our National Life." Accepting the criticism that our Peace ideals had been too poor and negative, he urged that our national life needed a central aim which would call out our loyalty and devotion. Christ could supply it, but only as we came to know Him better. We did not know Him well enough to be sure what He would have done about Belgium. Probably He would accept much of the socialist criticism of our social and industrial order, and if we were going to be loyal to Him we should have to revise many accepted ideas. But He would not stop at reorganizing social and industrial relations, and He would not be satisfied with us until we had striven to bring our whole national life into a missionary effort for the Kingdom of God.

It was felt by the Committee who had in hand the arrangements of the Conference that the difficulties which had been frankly raised had not been adequately dealt with,

but that it was impossible for them to be treated with any fullness by the Conference as a whole. The very elastic nature of the programme happily made it possible to meet in some measure the emergency that had arisen. It was decided that on Sunday afternoon the Conference should divide itself into groups, for the separate consideration of some of the points that had been raised, and that each group should subsequently present a report to the whole gathering. Four groups were thus formed, to consider the following subjects :

1. War and the Social Order.
2. Friends and Enlistment (men only).
3. Friends and Enlistment (women only).
4. Friends in Public and Business Life.

Before the groups separated, the chairman offered a constructive statement of some of the principles on which, he believed, the Conference was in large measure agreed—a statement which will be found in another part of this volume.\*

As the day passed, it was impossible not to feel that there was a drawing together of those who held varied views on the matters that had been under consideration, and that the sense of a united call to service was spreading and deepening. This was intensified at the evening sitting by two very searching addresses on "The Meaning of the Cross," delivered by Professor J. H. Moulton and Richard Roberts. The former found the heart of the Atonement in the manifestation of a perfect obedience—of a human life absolutely under the control of God and obedient right up to death—a life which, being Divine as well as human, could be reproduced in us, enabling us to conquer the world (though in apparent weakness) as the first Christians did. Richard Roberts found the supreme meaning of the Cross in the convergence, in one Person and one great act, of two movements : God offering man reconciliation, and man offering

God obedience. The depth and blackness of human sin, which only a revelation to our own souls could show us, was opened up, and it was urged that God, in forgiving it in perfect love, necessarily took it on Himself. Bearing our sin, He swept away the barrier between ourselves and Him, and provided the moral dynamic whereby we could consecrate our lives to His service.

The Chairman read a brief form of consecration which (without asking for any formal adhesion to it) he believed that many in the Conference were prepared to adopt as their own :

“ Believing that God has called us to give a corporate witness to the spirit of peace in this time of war, we desire to dedicate ourselves to this purpose, and to accept whatever is involved in this dedication, so far as it may be shown to us; and this we do out of loyalty to our country, to humanity, to the Church Universal, and to Jesus Christ our Lord and Master.”

The proceedings of Sunday then closed, after a very solemn time of silence and prayer.

Monday morning found the Conference ready to go forward unitedly, in the sense of a common call to service, with the consideration of practical tasks. After Edward Grubb had spoken on the subject of “ Christ as the Sufficient Answer to the Problems of our International Relations ” (for the discussion of which no time was available), and the work of the Emergency Committee appointed by the “ Meeting for Sufferings ” for the assistance of Germans and Hungarians in this country had been described, a deputation from Friends at Manchester was introduced to the Conference.

John W. Graham and other members of the deputation spoke of the intense desire which prevailed among Friends in Manchester that the Society of Friends should reach out in fellowship to kindred souls beyond its borders, and make its meeting-houses places, not for denominational life merely, but where the outraged Peace feeling of the country might

find support and help in the Divine presence. Many younger Friends were feeling the power of the Christian faith as they never had felt it before, but needed encouragement and guidance into practical work for peace. Our meeting-houses might be made centres of a great crusade, to recover, not a holy sepulchre, but the knowledge of a living Christ.

In the keen discussion which ensued, a warm tribute was rendered to the enthusiasm of Friends in Manchester, where on alternate Sunday evenings some 700 people of all denominations, and none, were gathering for worship. The wish was expressed that Friends and the Peace party generally could show as much devotion to their cause as the National Service League showed to theirs. One speaker quoted the remark that "this war would either make or break the Society of Friends," and stated his belief that there were no bounds to what was possible if the Society could get rid of snobbishness and pride. A good deal of doubt was expressed whether Friends' meeting-houses were the best centres for such work as had been indicated, and whether it would not be better to work through inter-denominational bodies like the Free Church Councils. This, it was pointed out, must be a matter for localities to decide according to circumstances. Our object was not to revive the Society of Friends, but to be faithful to the gospel of Peace. Another speaker reminded the Conference that many people in the Anglican Church, even among supporters of the army, were fully ready for our message.

The desirability of opening up communications with the Independent Labour Party was strongly urged by J. T. W. Newbold, a member of that body. Some of its branches were very likely soon to be in difficulties for a room to meet in, and might be very glad of the help of Friends.\*

The necessity for deeper study of our Peace principles, and the foundations on which they rest, was put before the Conference by Arnold S. Rowntree, M.P., Richard Roberts, and others. It was pointed out that the Laymen's Mis-

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\* It was decided later that a few members of the Conference should endeavour to arrange for an interview with some of the leaders of the Independent Labour Party.

sionary Movement was organizing study-groups on the subject of peace and issuing schemes of study. In the Presbyterian Church circles were being formed for studying the ethics of peace and war. The Friends' Central Study Committee was alluded to, as a body that is willing to render help in the formation and conduct of study-circles;\* and the desire was expressed that groups for study should be formed independently of denominational barriers.

An indication of the sense of a mission, which had by this time spread over the Conference, may be found in the fact that it undertook, on the proposal of its Committee, the serious task of endeavouring to carry down to the various congregations of the Society throughout the country something of the call and the message that had come to it. It was felt that this could only be done by personal visits. The Committee was continued to make the needful arrangements, and members of the Conference were asked to volunteer as visitors.†

At a later sitting the desire was expressed by some members of the Conference from Ireland, that in this visitation Irish Friends should not be overlooked; and the Committee was encouraged to arrange, if possible, for some visits to be paid to Ireland.

Some speakers earnestly wished that the work of visitation should not be confined to Friends; not only that others than Friends should be invited to attend meetings held to consider the thoughts brought before the Conference, but that the message should be carried to the many centres of population where no Friends' meeting is held. What seemed to be needed was a band of young men who would give up their time to going about from town to town as missionaries of Peace. On the other hand, warning was given as to the danger of scattering our small available force over too wide a field. Much depended on how many of those attend-

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\* Secretary (Miss) Elsie M. Smith, Lynhurst, Hoddesdon, Herts.

† Secretary of the Conference Committee, F. J. Edminson, M.A., Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham.

ing the Conference had this wider work laid on their hearts. Finally, it was left that those who did so feel it should be at liberty to communicate with the Committee.

The Committee was asked to prepare a message of sympathy which might be sent to young men of military age in other religious bodies who are declining on conscientious grounds to serve in the army. (Such a letter has been written, and will be found in the Appendix (page 138). Copies may be obtained from the Secretary of the Committee for distribution in suitable quarters.)

The subject of "Constructive Work for Peace" was introduced by illuminating addresses given by G. W. Nasmyth, an American peace worker, and by Arnold S. Rowntree, M.P., which space forbids us here to summarize. They will be found later in this volume.\* In the evening the Conference was brought back from the consideration of practical efforts for peace, to the right attitude of heart and mind, by addresses on "Quietness and Confidence" and "The Divine Resources," by L. Violet Hodgkin and Professor D. S. Cairns. The latter reminded us that the Divine power which transformed the tragedy of the Crucifixion into blessing needed the help of men who were able to enter into God's purpose; and so the future history of the race might depend on the faith of men and women now. In a powerful and beautiful passage he contrasted our prehistoric ancestors with the human race to-day: both had the same physical resources for wealth and happiness within their reach, but the savage could not use them. The Divine resources were infinite and available, and it was for us to receive them by faith and employ them for lifting the human race as much above its condition to-day as that is above the life of the savage.

Tuesday morning was mainly devoted to considering the maintenance of "A Christian Spirit in Time of War," and we were warned on the one hand against the spirit of revenge and retaliation, and on the other against the danger

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\* See pages 65, 72.

of adopting a superior and censorious attitude towards those who could not accept our views. It was not so much argument that was needed as repentance and humility, and the willingness to listen to and understand the thoughts of others. Later on, Geoffrey Hoyland, speaking to other young men, urged them not to shirk the religious argument in explaining why they were not free to enlist as soldiers, not to be afraid to speak of loyalty to Christ and the way of the Cross, which was the real basis of our position.

In the afternoon the reports were read from the different groups that were separated on Sunday afternoon for the consideration of special difficulties, and it was arranged that these reports, which through lack of time could not be considered in detail by the Conference, should be printed in the Appendix to this volume.

The evening brought us to the closing sitting of the Conference. The Chairman, in a few "parting words," lifted our thoughts to the greatness of the vision that had been before us, and the difficulty of the tasks that awaited us. The way of Peace was a greater thing than we had been aware; it challenged our inmost thoughts and accepted ways, and meant the reconstruction of much of our social life. It might be that, through the stress and strain of war, not only was the Society of Friends to be reborn, but that the dawn of a new day of faith was breaking. We had heard the call, and he prayed that we might go forth with bowed heads, but in great faith, to preach the gospel of Love.

Professor D. S. Cairns, in a final address on the subject "Follow thou Me," brought home to us once more the greatness of the task. War was "the negation of God erected into a system," and it could only be ended by the affirmation of God. The root of the evil was lack of faith in the living God. We must recover the vision of God, if the task were not to be impossible. If this vision were ours, all life would be changed; what seemed now the cross would be like heaven. How could we get it? There was only one way—that of following Christ. He radiated faith into the souls of His disciples; He radiates it still.

The Conference closed with a time of very solemn and earnest prayer; and on the following morning the members parted from one another, in the sense of a great call, a great task laid upon them, and a new faith in the Strength that is made perfect in weakness.

E. G.

## CHRIST AND THE WORLD SITUATION.

Address by MARY HIGGS.

[After reading some passages from the Prophets bearing on "The day of the Lord," the speaker said:] The day of the Lord! Perhaps one of the things that is making the present crisis the hardest to bear is that for some of us it is difficult to see the hand of the Lord in it. First of all we need to see that God is the God of the night as well as of the day. The thick darkness that lies upon the mountains as morning breaks is the prelude to a new day. We want to dive deep into the councils of God, and to realise that He is the God of wrath, the God of the thunder and lightning, the God of the storm, and the God of the darkness.

There is a word in our language which has a double meaning. It is the word "passion." It expresses, on the one hand, anger rising to the point of action. On the other hand, it expresses suffering. That is a curious thing. What is the passion of God? Has God been suffering? We see certain things that have been working up in the world and that have now come to a crisis. They are finding their expression in action. Are these things causing God suffering? Before we knew that this terrible war was coming we saw a number of things in our beloved land which we felt to be wrong. Were those things causing our God suffering? Does suffering in the heart of God rise to such an extent that action is necessary? There was a crisis like this before in the world's history—a crisis on which depended the whole religious life of the world afterwards—and "God spared not

His own Son." It is very difficult to express the thought of passion in its double sense; but apparently passion in the one sense can only be met by passion in the other. Passion against wrong can only be met by the passion of suffering.

Among the things in the world to-day which have been working up to a crisis we see a great development of individuality and personality. Carried to extremes, it has come to pass that, within our Christian Churches, it has become possible for the individual Christian to remain calm, peaceful, and unmoved by the sorrows of the world. Along with this great development of individuality, there has been one of intellectuality, until for many people religion has come to mean that they must *believe* the right thing, and not necessarily *feel* it.

Just before the present crisis came we were beginning, though very imperfectly, to feel the sufferings of our fellow-citizens. We were beginning to talk about social reform, and to see that religion must be applied in a communal way. What is the greatest danger before us now? Is it that of being defeated by foreign enemies? I believe that our greatest danger is that the Christianity of our land will not rise to the point of self-sacrifice which is needed in order to make us sorry for and to help the poor of our land. If we are to put ourselves into line with the life of Christ we have to sympathise with the poorest brother and sister—those who are suffering from hunger and deprivation. Perhaps it will be shown to us in these days how we are to do it. Some of us have been praying to understand what sharing with Christ the cup of suffering means. Now it is being put to our lips. Are we going to drink it? Are we able to be baptized with the baptism that He was baptized with, and to drink the cup that He drank? Are we ready to be stripped of everything?

Our soldiers go out to the battle-field and meet with hunger, cold, and nakedness. I believe that Christianity will be justified by those who are absolutely in the Spirit of Christ. It took but a little band of disciples, working in the spirit of the Master, to show the world Christianity itself. When they began they had all things in common.

We have to be brought in some way into such sympathy with the body of Christ—which is now nailed to the Cross in the person of Humanity rent and torn, with bleeding wounds in hands and feet—and to see to it that our passion of sympathy finds expression not simply in interior feelings, but in actions that fit us right on to Christ. It may be that, as far as outward events are concerned, there will be a great world change. It may be that those principles of freedom that are so dear to us will live on the other side of the world, and that England will be shorn of much of her power and become “Little England.” Are we willing that the will of God should be done in the matter? Over and over again since this war commenced the one prayer that I have been enabled to pray has been that the will of God might be done—through us as a nation, as well as through us as individuals. We cannot tell what that will may be. As our chairman has read, “Who can understand the mind of the Lord?” But we know that in all the past crises of the world’s history God has had certain great purposes which He has fulfilled, and that they have been fulfilled through passion—through suffering. Let us take our faith in both hands and say to ourselves: “I am willing to suffer to the extent of losing everything that I possess. I am willing to become like one of the Belgian outcasts who are at present fleeing over the face of their country reduced to a state of vagrancy because they are under the heel of the conqueror.” What would remain for us, supposing that this happened? Would there not remain that indomitable spirit that founded New England, that heritage of freedom which is a possession of the soul, and the power of serving others? These do not depend on money. Christ Himself was homeless and without money. What redeemed the world was His character. Do you not suppose that, if God makes us willing to be stripped of everything, we shall come out triumphant? Christ conquers the world by the spirit of meekness. We do not know much about the lives of the soldiers on the battle-field. They are hidden to a great extent. There are many acts of heroism performed there about which we never hear. It lies with each of us to practise that hidden heroism,

and to bring ourselves into unity with the sufferings of Christ. He is suffering to-day in the mother whose milk for her babe fails, and in countless human lives. This is our great opportunity. It is a day in which we can gather together those that are needy, and help them, teach them, brother them, sister them. It will cost us a great deal to do it; but it is worth every ounce of suffering if only we can feel that our lives are simply laid down on the life of Christ.

I pray that we may be enabled to face the world situation in the spirit of the passion of Christ.

## CHRIST AND THE WORLD SITUATION.

Address by RICHARD ROBERTS (Minister of the Presbyterian Church, Crouch Hill, N.)

Among the things which impress me most deeply in regard to the present situation is the fact that our nation—a Protestant people—is allied with two Catholic and one Greek Orthodox people against the one nation in Europe which shares with us the distinction of being a leading Protestant nation in the Old World, and that that nation is itself allied with a Catholic one. In order to make the confusion still worse confounded, there has come over to our side a non-Christian people of the East. When we turn to the Christian Church in our own country to-day we see another kind of confusion. On the one hand there are brethren whom I love and respect who are to-day so tremendously impressed by the fact that we have responded to the call of honour and chivalry, and who so firmly believe that the liberty of the world is at stake, that they feel justified in urging young men to enlist as for a sacred cause, while, on the other hand, there are others whom I know to be simply overwhelmed and broken down with shame and contrition at the thought that the war could have been at all, and see in this circumstance a grave reverse to the Church of Christ. For my own part I have to acknowledge that, as far as I am able to understand White Books and documents of that character, it seems to me that England, as England, could do nothing else than act in the way in which she has done. Yet, although I believe that she has done the right thing, her way of life, and the way of life of Europe in the past,

has been such that, in the act of doing the right thing, she became involved in the awful business of killing men and of breaking the heart of Christ.

I want first of all to ask how far Christianity is really involved in all this. What we have to-day is the clash of two secular civilisations, of which one is undoubtedly better and more desirable than the other, but neither of which is particularly Christian. Both are resting upon the principle of force. We have to confess the fact that, after the lapse of centuries, there is no such thing in the world to-day as a Christian nation. There are plenty of pagan nations with a certain tincture of Christianity in them—and this is the true description of the English nation. Therefore we may, perhaps, say that Christianity is involved in the present situation in so far as it has been unable effectively to Christianise the nations among which it has been operating. Now that may seem to be a very grievous criticism to make, but I think there are certain things to be said on the other side.

To begin with, we hear a good deal to-day about the bankruptcy of Christianity; but, observe, this is the first time in history that this kind of thing has been said. It is a very significant thing. We have heard a great deal recently about the tonic qualities of war; but I do not think that we shall hear any more. Of course, it was quite easy to talk about war in a cold, detached way, and to admire the way in which it called out certain qualities when it was right away in South Africa; but, with our own friends and some who are very dear to us out in France exposed to such horrible danger, some of us not knowing when we may hear of our dearest being reported dead or wounded, and when we see hosts of Belgian refugees coming over to seek sanctuary in England, it comes home very clearly to us that war is an awful and horrible thing, and that there is nothing to be said in its favour. Quite apart from this, however, the very fact that Christianity is blamed for having allowed this war shows a very real advance. That there should be blame attached to Christianity seems to be an acknowledgment that Christianity has prevailed so far as to make men see that war is evil.

Further, it is a recognition that Christianity ought to have prevented the war. People are beginning to realise that, in the essence of Christianity, there is something which is hostile to war, and which ought to prevent it. Observe, too, that, seeing that this is the first time that the charge of bankruptcy has been seriously and persistently made against Christianity, Christianity is beginning at last to be recognised as a force in the world. We are really getting on: there is really an advance in the situation which is confronting us to-day. And if anyone asks, "Has Christianity failed?" the real and true answer to the question is that Christianity has never yet been really tried, but that it is little by little making its way. The time will come when it will be fully and completely triumphant. Some of you may have seen Houston Stewart Chamberlain's book *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. I fear that that book has had more to do with the war than many of us, when we first read it, ever supposed it could have. There is one sentence in it which I should like to quote. He says that Christianity "is not yet firm on its childish feet." "Who knows," he asks, "but that the time may come when the first bloody seventeen centuries of Church history will be regarded as the story of the infantile diseases of Christianity?" We have to hang on to the thought that, after all, Christianity is still very young, that it is even now only beginning to have its chance in the world, and that there is nothing in the present situation to cloud the faith of any that "He must reign, till He hath put all enemies under His feet."

At the same time, we must admit that Christianity has received a check. It is, therefore, necessary that we should turn to ourselves, and to our corporate life as a Christian body, and ask ourselves how it has come to pass that we have been checked, and what are those defects in our Christian witness and practice through which the check has come. I just want to suggest very briefly one or two things which it seems to me ought to be looked at very carefully. Of course, there are a good many minor things: for instance, the invasion of worldly standards into Church life. I know that Friends have not been affected by this quite so seriously

as some of us have been. But there are more serious things even than this. I had a letter only yesterday from a friend of mine. He says that under all the circumstances, Christians may be justified at the present time in coming out on to a sub-Christian platform. I think that that is where the Church has always been, so that it will be nothing new for it to come out on to a sub-Christian platform. We have not yet, in a thorough-going way, claimed for our Lord Jesus Christ that empire over the whole of life which belongs to Him by right. We have not accepted the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ with all its consequences. Of course, an analysis of this matter would carry me too far; but what I want to point out is that, in my experience, there is an incorrigible tendency among Christian people to regard Christianity as a religious culture. Religion may be nothing more than a selfish and isolated culture, whereas Christianity is something infinitely more than that: it is a witness, a service, and an obedience. We have not realised that obedience, which is implicit in Christian discipleship, is something which carries right to the furthest frontiers of our lives. We have, for instance, been told that Christianity has nothing to do with business. Consequently there have been Christian men who have lived up to a high Christian standard in other respects, but, when they have come to business, have accepted the conventional business standards of the time. We know what the consequences of that are. We have similarly heard it said that religion has nothing to do with politics, as if religion and politics could be separated. So we have been dividing our lives because we have not yet disciplined ourselves to the view and to the practice which make Christianity imperial right through the whole of our lives. We have been on a sub-Christian platform.

My second point is this. How could the Church of Christ hope to prevent war among the nations when it has been unable hitherto to suppress war within its own borders? We have to remember that, until we have analysed the situation and have realised where, so far as we in this country are concerned, the root of this trouble lies, we shall not get very far. I remember speaking some time ago with Baron von

Hügel. In the course of conversation he remarked that the curse of Puritanism is its pride. I am not going to comment on that, but leave it to you to think about it. It really accounts for the fact that there is so little real *penitence* among the mass of Christian folk to-day in view of the war; and for the kind of moral complacency which thinks that, when Belgian neutrality was broken, we did the right thing, and that therefore everything else must be quite right, and that we have nothing in the past for which to be sorry. I want to point out that there is something in the essential character of our Protestantism which makes for individual and group assertion. The logical outcome of a de-spiritualised Protestantism with its individualism is Nietzsche. We have therefore to look at our Protestantism again, in order to see where it fails, and to realise that there must be added to it something of the Catholic spirit, by means of which we shall be able to overcome our tendency to be divided and made to realise ourselves one body in Jesus Christ.

Another point which I should like to mention is the quite superstitious way in which we modern Christians have bowed down before the little tin god of Progress. We have been talking a great deal about Progress in recent years. Of course, it is the pressure of the Evolution theory which has caused this. We have got fairly well ingrained into our minds to-day that humanity is just going up on a gently-inclined plane to the city of God, and that it is sure to get there at last. We need the core of the doctrine of Original Sin back in its right place. Whether or not we ever get Eden back does not matter very much. We need to realise that humanity, left to itself, tends to fall—tends to moral deterioration—and that it is only by the infusion in our humanity of a spirit from above that the tendency to deterioration can be checked. We have come to regard Christianity as a kind of stimulus to this cosmic climb, helping to give the whole mass of humanity a push by the way. That is not Christianity in the least bit. Christianity is not a reinforcement to a predestinate progress. It is a Gospel of redemption to a fallen and a falling race.

Again, there has been something wrong in the quality of our faith. I observe that people nowadays are able to put on to the hind wheels of their bicycles a little motor auxiliary which helps them in going up hills. A great many of us think of God as something like that—a power to get us out of tight corners. We too exclusively think of Him as a “present help in trouble,” and do not realise that He does not help people very much when they are in difficulty unless He is their Lord and Sovereign all their days. We have not realised that “the Lord God omnipotent reigneth,” but have rather tended to exclude Him out of our lives altogether. We have become too self-reliant in our prosperity. Consequently the result is that we do not know God to-day. Not only have we not grasped the Fatherhood of God, but we have not retained our sense of the God of the Old Testament. We are unable to appreciate the significance of such a passage as that “Asshur shall not save us”—(that is, we are not going to be helped by foreign alliances). “We will not ride upon horses”—(we are going to give up our cavalry and mounted infantry). “Neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, Ye are our gods”—(we cannot believe in Dreadnoughts and believe in God at the same time). We have to get back to that sense of God which will enable us to trust our national life to Him. The emphasis that is now being given to the eschatological element in the Gospels may help us to realise that He has not abdicated or renounced His freedom to act in the world according to His will. Professor Oman, of Cambridge, has said that “the Divine order is always ready to break into the world when men are ready to let it break into their hearts.” That is the great thing which we have to learn in the present situation. If there are those of us who are ready to let the Divine order break into our hearts, God is ready to make it break into the world.

It seems to me that we have a very great opportunity before us at the present time. To begin with, let us remember that now is the opportunity of the Church. One thing is becoming clear to people. The war is making the real issue between the Church and the world plain. Professor

Cramb has told us that "*Corsica has conquered Galilee.*" Either Corsica or Galilee must conquer the world; there is no other alternative. This has been shown to us in a great many ways. What the Church has to do, what the Christian witness, as it seems to me, has to concentrate upon above everything else, is simply to push this moral home to the people, to make them realise that we cannot run Corsica and Galilee in double harness, that we cannot be Christian and continue to rely upon force for the upkeep of our national life.

We see what militarism has meant in Germany. It has meant to her something worse than any defeat that could befall her navy, or any disaster to her armies upon the battle-field. I am not saying that we in this country are guiltless in the matter; but, undoubtedly, Germany has pushed the doctrine of Corsica to its logical issue in a way which we have not done. We see the result of it to-day in the dreadful ethical collapse in Germany. And we need to remember ever what Professor Cramb has forgotten to tell us—that Corsica ended in St. Helena, whereas Galilee led to the resurrection.

Another thing which I should like to mention is that we are all experiencing a great joy in the coming of a new brotherhood. It is a great tragedy that it should have needed a war to obtain this. We have been, for the last ten years, going through a series of most extraordinary muddles in regard to education, the Labour movement, the Suffrage, and finally Ireland. Now, observe what this has meant. It has been the symptom of a certain disintegration of our national life (I am not going into the causes of it) which the present situation has helped us to overcome. Now, one of our great opportunities is the provision of a moral equivalent for war. And we may see at least so far as this—that it would be an unspeakable gain if we could turn all the momentum of our new-found solidarity upon the solution of some of our social problems.

Will you think that I am exaggerating when I say this?—that my profound impression is that, if we are humble and will let God interpret Himself to us, this may be the biggest hour for the world's redemption since Calvary. The more

I think of it the more profoundly convinced I am that it is true. But may this seem to be justifying the war? I do not think that it is. One cannot justify Calvary. Calvary, looked at as a thing in history, is a mean, squalid crime. But yet God laid His hand upon it and made it the organ of the world's redemption. Let us remember that God has not left the world to itself, that somehow, in His own inscrutable way, He is in the midst of this situation, and that He will transform it, if we are faithful, into great and lasting good for the world. "Shall evil befall the city, and the Lord hath not done it?" The Lord never did it. It was the wickedness of men that did it; but, because there were some who trusted and obeyed Him, God transmuted it into great and increasing good. And I believe that He is waiting to do the same for the world to-day.

## CHRIST THE ANSWER TO THE WORLD'S NEED: IN NATIONAL LIFE.

Address by HERBERT G. WOOD.

I want to begin by referring to something that has been very much on the minds of some of us this afternoon and again this evening—I mean the poverty of our Peace ideas. In our thoughts about peace we have not presented it to ourselves or to others as a sufficiently heroic and manly thing. If we think of it primarily as the avoidance of war, with its intolerable suffering, it has not the influence on our hearts and minds that war itself still retains. The belief in war is still very real—more real and more deeply latent in us than, perhaps, most of us think—and more influential than we like to admit. In his book *With the Bulgarian Staff*, Noel Buxton says that the Balkan question might have been settled a generation ago but for the fact that many of the men who had the diplomatic conduct of the question in their hands were still possessed by the latent belief in war. They felt that if the Balkan peoples were worthy of freedom they would win it by war. It was no use to set them free. We know well enough that a similar creed largely prevails in Germany. Here is a sentence from von Bülow's book, where he is speaking of Bismarck, and giving the opinion of the average German. He says: "Bismarck saw that in Germany the will power of the nation would not be strengthened by friction between the Government and the people, but by the clash of German pride, and the sense of honour, with the resistance and the demands of other nations." That is,

national unity and national health are to be preserved, and only to be preserved, in the atmosphere of conflict. It is of no use to deny that war has often a uniting and ennobling effect upon a nation. I know that there is the other side of war—the brutality of it, the moral temptations which are past bearing which come to men who are actually engaged in warfare; but, if you look at it from the side of national determination and individual devotion, it is ennobling: it gives a man a central aim to which he devotes himself in the fullest sense. That is why, at bottom, men believe in war, and believe that we cannot get on without it. This belief is fostered by the want of heroism in our Christianity. Nietzsche was the son of a German pastor. His mother was the daughter of a German pastor. He had German pietism behind him. But that pietism was no longer in touch with real life, no longer making demands upon men to which they could respond, and feel that they were taking a heroic part in the life of the world. Christianity, as presented to him, was not a heroic religion. So long as Christianity is not a heroic religion, so long will the belief in war cling to us, and war itself will appear to do for us what nothing else succeeds in doing. I have the feeling that pietism all round is in that position—that it is no longer adequately in touch with real life. I would put it in this way, that the traditional treatment of the great subjects of religion—sin, holiness, atonement, redemption—does not come home to us because our conception of sin is not up to date, our conception of holiness not right in the heart of real living, and our thought of atonement not brought into relation with the demands of life as we know it. Our devotional tradition is not sufficiently real to grip men. There is a saying of Nietzsche which is profoundly true: “My friends, if the goal of humanity is still to seek, do we not lack humanity itself?” We do not know what manhood means until we discover its purpose. Our national life can never satisfy us until it has a central aim—until it has a purpose which will call forth from men and women the fullest possible measure of loyalty and devotion.

Is Christ sufficient to give us our aim? If I say that

Christ is the sufficient answer to this central need of human nature—this need of an aim that will draw forth all that is best in us in a passionate devotion—such an assertion is an act of faith. I believe it profoundly. I believe it in order that I may understand it. I do not understand it yet. Christ will not seem to us to be sufficient until we understand Him better. If we are honest I think that we shall say that we believe that Christ is the sufficient answer, but that we do not see how, because frankly we do not know what He would demand of us under certain circumstances. Let us go back for a moment to the question of Belgium. What ought we, as a nation, to have done? What was the Christian line? I do not think that we know. Look at the two alternatives, of which we have chosen one. Can we imagine Christ behind the machine gun? The answer to this question which Dr. Salter has put so pointedly in *The Labour Leader* is that the war may have been the best solution we knew, but that it is not Christ's solution; and we know it. Then, again, if we draw another picture and say, "Can we imagine Christ standing by and simply letting the thing happen?" if we imagine what non-intervention would have meant, I think that we shall have to say that that is not what Christ would have done. There must be some third answer, some way in which Christ would have made His protest; but we do not know what it is. Perhaps it would have been the kind of protest that the monk Telemachus made against the gladiatorial games. The fact is that we are not close enough to Christ to know what His answer would have been. What we have to do is to get closer to Him.

Yet, if one looks at the broader issues, the sayings of our Lord are coming home to us now with an unmistakable meaning. We begin to see what He meant when He said, "Judge not, that ye be not judged," when we find ourselves so ready to speak in judgment on other peoples. We are beginning to realise what His meaning was when He spoke about our loving our enemies and praying for those that despicably use us, and what He meant when He said, "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." Have not there

been idle words in the profession of Peace principles, words which have been spoken as a matter of course, but have had behind them very little of the stuff that goes to make action—words that do not work? The sayings of Jesus are coming home to us afresh, and we are beginning to understand what Christianity means. Does it give us the guidance that we need? Does it set before us the goal?

It seems to me that what has been said this afternoon is profoundly true: one reason why the testimony against all war has failed is that we have never made it. We have never protested against *all* war; and it is because we have not so protested that it is difficult to make an effective protest at the present time.

And surely it is right to say that we have to analyse the whole of our social and national life, and ask ourselves whether, while we protest against so grotesque an evil as war, we are not acquiescing in and accepting the roots of it in our social and industrial order. A message has come to us from the Socialist Quaker Society; and I will just say this about the subject with which it deals. We ought to be ready to recognise the large amount of truth that is contained in the socialist criticism of our existing industrial order, as being in itself founded on and living by a principle which is inconsistent with our testimony against all war. I have not time to develop this statement. I would not say anything to detract from the importance of the kind of task of which we have been reminded—of the need for organization and the call for service that may not look very heroic, but is much needed. Nor do I want to detract from the importance of letting the physical misery of poverty sink into our minds and claim what is due of our attention, our sympathy, and our sacrifice. But I do want to say that Christian criticism of our existing order goes deeper than that, and that we have to ask ourselves whether we have not too readily acquiesced in all the habits of thought that cling to us as members of the different classes of society. We have to ask ourselves whether, even if we secured an adequate wage for the wage-earner, we should be giving him a life and a work that were worthy. That is the kind of question that Ruskin

forced upon us long ago, and we have to go back to him. Christ Himself forces such questions upon us. When He speaks of our anxiety as to what we shall eat, what we shall drink, and what we shall put on, when He reminds us that "after all these things do the Gentiles seek," and when He refers to the Gentile standard of greatness, of the way in which their great ones lord it over them, and says that it is not to be so amongst us, He challenges the very spirit of our social institutions. Are we ready to face the challenge and ask ourselves what is involved in it? To uphold the cause of Christ will mean, as a good many of us have already seen, the giving up of many things which we have taken for granted. We have to realise that the root of our trouble lies very deep. It lies not simply in our international relations but in our relations to one another in the nation itself.

With regard to the problem of engaging in municipal work I will only say one very common-sense thing. It seems to me that the right Christian attitude is not a passive one—one of withdrawal—but that as Christians we must go in and be prepared inevitably to submit to some measure of compromise. But we must never be guilty of contentment with the compromise. A member of the Society of Friends, as a member of the Christian Church, may very well be a magistrate and administer the existing law so long as, one might say, he never consents to it. We may help to work the system so long as we are not selling any part of our right to work for a change. That is as far as I see on the problem.

Our Lord appealed to people where they were, and offered to them the highest spiritual ideal for them to accept if they would. It is as true to-day as when the prophet spoke the words, that "where there is no vision the people perish." I think that what Christ would say about our national life is that it is not enough for us to try to organize our industrial and social relations in the spirit of brotherhood, and in the light of the ideal of personality and of manhood which He Himself has set before us. We shall not achieve even this if we aim simply and solely at this alone. We shall not serve our nation fully unless we try to put before our fellow-countrymen the highest that we know, and unless we invite

them to join with us in dedicating the national life to the missionary service of the Kingdom of God. It seems to me that the greatest thing which we can do for our nation is to believe it to be capable of entering into the highest spiritual tasks, and to make our appeal, so far as we ourselves have any vision. To make the people, as a people, realise what a nation might do, for instance, in the work of education or on the mission field, is our supreme task. If we had any vision of what needs to be done throughout the world, and realised what the coming of Jesus Christ into this poor lost world of ours means, we should begin to see something to which all that we could devote would be far too little. We need a fresh vision of what the cause of Christ stands for in the world, and to remember that it demands our obedience.

## THE MEANING OF THE CROSS.

Address by PROFESSOR J. H. MOULTON (Didsbury  
Methodist College, Manchester).

I find the subject which has been suggested for this evening a very hard one to speak to you about.

The lovely words of your own Quaker poet, which we have been singing, carry me back five weeks to the time when I made a pilgrimage to the quiet farmhouse in Massachusetts where Whittier was born, and visited the house in which he lived a large part of his pure and beautiful life. I saw there the relics of a man whom I have always revered; but they brought me no nearer to the man. I saw the shoes which he used to wear, the stick which he carried, and the scenes on which his eyes rested. But these only made one feel all the more "He is not here: he is risen," which is true of the servant as well as of the Master. He has passed away from human sight, but yet, though dead, still speaketh.

We have been hearing read from the Epistles of Paul the great words of the greatest of all missionaries, the supreme genius of Christianity, the man who first interpreted Jesus Christ so as to bring the real meaning of His life and death before men, and they bring us near to the stupendous problem that is before us to-night. To speak on the meaning of the Cross is to deal with a subject which may well humble into silence anyone who thinks that he is supposed to give, even from one single point of view, anything like a complete account of that supreme mystery. But I want to say a few things which are based upon the timeliness of the Cross, in

order that we may get hold as well as ever we can of the meaning of the Cross of Jesus for the fearful world problem that we are trying to face.

When our Lord was explaining the Kingdom of God He could only do it by bringing up a succession of partial pictures. The same thing applies to the doctrine of the Cross. Men have made awful mistakes about it. I have to confess that for many years I thought that it was impossible to have any intellectual explanation of it. The theories that were brought up one after another seemed to me to be so artificial, with so much make-believe about them. I was told that Jesus of Nazareth suffered the wrath of the Father because He stood in the place of the sinner. How could I believe that when I considered that surely, at that moment of all moments in His wondrous life, He must have been peculiarly under the good pleasure of the Father? I was content to acquiesce in the thought that we could not understand such a mystery, and to fall back upon a verse of a child's hymn :

“I am not skilled to understand  
What God hath willed, what God hath planned.  
I only know at His right hand  
Stands One who is my Saviour.”

At this time we have fresh light upon the meaning of the Cross through the fact that it is now that the doctrine of the Cross is being challenged by the prince of this world with the most naked effrontery that has ever been shown. By the very existence of such a war there are put before us just now in striking antithesis the methods of God and the methods of the devil, the principles of God and the principles of the enemy of God and man. We have before us a great world conflict of might *versus* right, of force *versus* love; and the question before us—the question on which all the future of the world will turn—is, With which is the victory going to be? Is it going to be with the mailed fist, or is it to be with the pierced hand? We hear talk of civilisation at a time when all the elementary principles of civilisation are turned upside down. What is the record of the two powers

I have referred to—the mailed fist and the pierced hand? What has the mailed fist done for civilisation? “They make a wilderness,” said the British Chief in Tacitus, “and call it peace.” Against that we think of the wilderness and the solitary place which have been made glad by the coming of Christ’s messengers. We think of the wild savages who have been tamed, and who sit “clothed and in their right minds” at the feet of the Saviour. We think of the places where His unarmed missionaries have gone, ready to give up their lives, if need be. In the power of the Gospel they have spoken, and the place has been transformed. I had the privilege of entertaining in my house a few weeks ago George Brown, one of the grandest missionaries living, a man whose life Robert Louis Stevenson wanted to write. If it had been written it would have been more astonishing than any romance that Stevenson did write. He told us so naturally, and without any sense of their greatness, some of the things which he had seen in a wild island where the inhabitants, when he first went there, were the worst savages in the South Seas. Only seven years later, when the British Governor visited that island on the occasion of Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee, a choir of these men came down to the shore with George Brown and sang in English “God save the Queen.” What is it that turns the hearts of men like that? What is it that can transform humanity in such a wondrous way? There is but one reply. It is the power of the Cross.

We read just now in Weymouth’s version Paul’s doctrine of the meaning of the Cross. I greatly wonder that Weymouth failed to see the point of the deepest thought in the whole of that great paragraph in the Epistle to the Philippians. He expressed so well the meaning of the rest of it, but missed the one point that gives us the whole theory of the atonement. The meaning is not that He “stooped to death.” How could He be “obedient to death,” the king of terrors? The only possible meaning of Paul’s words in the Greek is that He was obedient *right up to death*. He was obedient to the Father’s will, not stopping short even of death in its most appalling form. I have always felt that

that was, perhaps, the deepest and richest thing ever said about Calvary. He was *obedient*. For the first time in the history of the world a human life was lived which was absolutely under the control of God. There had been obedience before. A long succession of brave and good men and women had obeyed and "counted not their lives dear," counted their obedience a greater thing than anything else in life. Yet there were flaws even in them. Paul himself had his faults. All the saints of the Old and New Testaments had their faults. There was only one life that was absolutely free from flaws. His was not negative perfection, which only means the absence of stain. It is the white of the sunlight, that burns and flashes and drives away the darkness. His was the only human life ever lived which, from beginning to end, was absolutely and without reserve in the hands of God. I think that this is the central point of Paul's teaching about the atonement. We are not to think only of the death of Jesus: we must think of the life that led up to the death. What manner of Man was it who lived that life and died that death? You remember how Kingsley, at the end of his *Hypatia*, makes fine use of that wonderful passage in Plato's *Republic*, in which is sketched so vividly what would happen to the ideally perfect man whenever he came to earth. The philosopher saw that, if ever perfect humanity were seen on this planet, it would arouse the antagonism of imperfect humanity, that the ideally righteous man would be misunderstood and accounted unrighteous, that, at the last, he would be scourged, racked, and have his eyes put out, and that, after suffering all manner of torture, he would be crucified. Thus the Gentile prophet, four centuries beforehand, saw that, if human perfection were seen in this world, it would meet with such a fate as did actually occur, for there is something in human nature which rebels against that which is higher than itself. Unreserved obedience to the will of God brings inevitably the choice between unfaithfulness and death. The choice which Jesus made was death. To have escaped death would have meant unfaithfulness to His mission. He prayed to the last that the cup might pass from Him. It could not pass unless He

were willing to be unfaithful. So He went on, seeing the shadow before Him, and knowing every pang that He must go through, the sharpest pang of all being the "gainsaying of sinners against themselves"—the opposition of men who would not let Him save them.

When that perfect human life had been offered in utter and unreserved sacrifice to God there came the after-life, for He was God and not only Man. The central fact of all Paul's teaching and practical life is that it was not he that lived, but that Christ lived in him: Christ lived over again within Paul's heart His life of perfect obedience, so that the things that he did and said and thought were not his, but belonged to the great Lord who was reproducing His own life. "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself will not contain" (that is the real rendering) "the books that shall be written." The Acts of the Apostles is really Volume II. of the Acts of Christ. There are two hundred more volumes of the Acts of Christ potentially in this room to-night. There is a library of them that fills the world.

The whole history of the Christian Church tells us what is the lesson for the present time. We know of the stupendous conflict which began a generation after Jesus disappeared from human sight—that unequal conflict of obscure and uninfluential persons ranged up against the legions of Rome, an empire that had no rivals. There was no possibility of the Church's claiming the help of one of two great rival warring powers. Its members were alone in a conflict with the one world power. They fought without violence. They never took life. The only thing they did was to be ready to die. After two centuries and a half of stern warfare the victory rested with those who died. Those who could only kill acknowledged defeat.

The glorious history of your Society encourages us to believe that the history of the first centuries of Christendom is not the last illustration of the principle which comes straight from the Cross of Christ. Your history tells the same story. Your ancestors have taken joyfully the spoiling

of their goods, knowing that they "had their own selves as a better and more abiding possession." You have known what it means to follow the right.

"Since right is right, to follow right  
Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence."

To do the right as God reveals it to us is the thing that pays. It is the only thing that redeems the world. By the detachment due from my position in another Church (but without any detachment which means want of sympathy with you in any direction; I agree with you perfectly in everything that is distinctive in your message to the world) I appeal to you to give your message now to a world that needs it supremely. You have stood through all your history for the doctrine that absolute obedience to the will of God is the one great thing in the world, and the one thing that wins in the long run. It may not win at once. "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." In earthly strife the victory does not always rest with the right. Our God is not the God of battles. The god of this world is on the side of the big battalions, and the victory now rests not with those who are right but with those who are strongest. But in the end the victory will rest with those who are right. We can be sure of that even in this dark day. Speak out fearlessly to the world that which it is on your hearts to say, and speak in language which they can understand. Let them not say to you: "This is high. We cannot attain unto it. It is idealism, and will do in a world that is not yet born. It won't do here and now." Plead with them with that "sweet reasonableness" which has characterized the work of your glorious Society in the past. Show them clearly the spirit that should be theirs at this terrible time. Remember that their ears are more open to listen to you now than they have ever been in the past. The world is solemnised by an awful struggle. It will become more solemnised still as time goes on, if this accursed war lasts, as it may well do, for months or even years. In what a state may we see at last the country which we love! Think of all the sorrow and suffering, the privation, the fearful trial through which we shall be

called to pass. Yet even all this may be overcome by God for the blessing of the country, if the people are willing to listen to the message of those who speak for Jesus Christ. Brethren, as we gather together in this solemn time to-night the vision comes to you—it comes to me as I speak. Oh! what could two hundred people pledged to utter obedience to God do in the world? Before now one man who has had a vision of the Almighty has turned the world upside down. What could all of us do if we were everything that our Lord meant us to be? “If anyone willeth to know His will he shall know it.” We shall not be left in the dark, but shall have the illumination which comes to all who are willing to seek it. If those who are attending this Conference go back to their work in the midst of the world with a vision of the Cross of Christ, and with a new determination that they will seek only to know and work out the perfect will of God, utterly regardless of consequences, and only eager, in the fervour of a great love, to make the world understand our Master, the Kingdom of God will come.

## THE MEANING OF THE CROSS.

Address by RICHARD ROBERTS.

Naturally, the first, but certainly the least thing that we say about the Cross, is that it happened at a certain place on a certain day. The background of the Cross is not Jerusalem, but the whole world: its date is not a certain day, but all time. I remember hearing Dr. Fairbairn, many years back, say that Calvary is "an epitome of the world." That is true; but we must go still further. It is an epitome of two worlds—an epitome of God and of man. It is the whole of life, divine and human, focussed down to one intense point of light. Dr. Forsyth uses an epithet of the Cross which, I think, is profoundly true. He speaks of it as being "superhistoric." There is a certain quality of timelessness and immediacy in it for every man who looks understandingly upon it, and it becomes to us, as it has been to every age, the clue to the interpretation of history and of our own personal lives.

I think that we shall miss the true fullness of the meaning of the Cross if we forget that it has two sides, or, rather, that it is the convergence of two great movements—of God to man and of man to God; God, in the Person of Jesus Christ, offering to man the gift of perfect reconciliation; man, in the Person of Jesus, offering to God the gift of perfect obedience; God at His divinest, man at his manliest, meeting in one and the same act. Therefore the Cross comes to us bringing the supreme gift of reconciliation to God, and all that that carries with it; but it also comes with the supreme demand—the demand for a full surrender. The gift and the

demand always go together. We cannot pick and choose; we have to accept both. What is more, we cannot accept the gift fully and understandingly without realising that we have to make the surrender; and we never shall be able to make the surrender until we have fully and understandingly appropriated the gift.

It is rather of the gift that I would speak to-night, if you will bear with me for a little time.

The assumption that every religion in the world starts out with is that there is something wrong with the world. They do not all diagnose the trouble in the same way; they give different explanations of it; but they all agree that, as they look out upon the world, they see what Newman described as "a heart-piercing, reason-bewildering spectacle." The Christian interpretation of this is that it is Sin. I think that, more than anything else, we need the restoration of the idea of sin into its own place in our religious thinking. We need to realise the meaning of sin in a far fuller way than we do. A friend of mine jestingly defined sin as being that kind of evil to which the respectable middle classes are least prone. I think that, to a certain extent, we have come to look upon sin in this way, and that it is necessary that we should learn over again what it really is.

I suppose that there are none of us but have to realise, as we scrutinise our own hearts, that we have suffered moral defeat and failure. We have to acknowledge that, as we test ourselves even in the light of the ordinary conventional standard by which the average man lives, we have been defeated and have failed again and again. But I wonder how many of us have stopped to ask ourselves what the real test is by which we should measure our failure. This, it seems to me, is the first point at which the Cross touches us. What is the Cross? The Cross, as we have heard, is the Perfect Man in the perfect act: it is the great ethical high-water mark. And, just because it is the moral achievement of our own flesh and blood, it becomes the moral criterion for all of us. It is a concrete statement, in terms which you and I cannot fail to understand, of our total moral liability and of God's demand upon us. When you and I begin to scrutinise

our record in the light of the moral achievement of Jesus Christ, of that perfect obedience of which Dr. Moulton has spoken, there is not one of us but has to confess that we are utterly and totally and irreparably bankrupt, and that we are all involved in utter moral insolvency. That is a very serious state of affairs, but yet it is not the worst thing to be said about us. We have to know something even more than that before we recognise the real quality of sin. Shall I take an analogy from the Gospels in order to illustrate what I mean? You remember that Jesus once asked His disciples, "Whom do men say that I am?" The answer was, "John the Baptist; some, Elijah; and others Jeremiah, or one of the prophets." This was a perfectly sound judgment, so far as it went; but, observe, it was the judgment of the natural faculty. Then Jesus asked the disciples what their judgment was, and Peter said, "Thou art the Messiah of God"; and Jesus went on to say, "Flesh and blood" (that is, the natural faculty) "hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." By the light of the natural faculty it was seen that Jesus was a prophet; but it was only a revelation that could show the whole truth. I believe that the same thing applies to sin. In the light of the natural faculty we may see ourselves to be utter moral failures, and morally insolvent; but it requires the light of revelation for us to see ourselves to be sinners. We may, by our own faculties, know that we have come short of our duty; but it is in the light of the Holy Spirit that we understand that we have come short of the glory of God. The real difference that the revelation of sin makes to us is just this: when a man finds that he is a moral failure (I speak with some knowledge, because in all this I am simply telling my own story) he does not find it difficult to forgive himself. The real trouble in the moral life of so many of us to-day is that we find it so easy to forgive ourselves. But, when once a man has, in the light of the Spirit of God, seen the true character of his sin, he knows that the only hope for him is to be forgiven by God. The essence of sin, as it appears in that revelation, is just this. When a man looks upon Jesus Christ and realises what His love was, and what a difference that love has made in his relation to God, he

realises that the very essence of sin is something which Paul calls "enmity against God"; it is personal self-assertion as against God: alienation from God. Sin, on whatever plane you deal with it, must at last be recognised as an affair between persons. It is the rupture of a personal relationship: and we are responsible for it.

Now, what is to be done with sin? How should God deal with it? The great fact that we have to remember in this connection is that we are dealing with the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that He could only do with it what love would do; and love would forgive. One of the most difficult things in the world is to forgive. You know the process that goes on in you when you really forgive. When an offence has been committed against you there is immediately a reaction in yourself. If you are going to forgive you have to check that reaction. Of course, that is only the beginning of forgiveness. I confess that one of the most costly things that I ever have to do is when I am struck to hold myself back and not strike in return. It really means self-negation, self-surrender, self-denial, self-repression. It means this—that I bear the offence with its entire consequences within my own person, as it were. I bear the offence and also the shock of its reaction within myself. I do not visit it on the offender. You cannot forgive an offence without bearing it. There is no forgiveness of sin except at the price of bearing it. It is always a perilous thing to argue from man to God; but it does seem to me that the same thing applies to Him, and that He cannot forgive sin without bearing it. And here again the Cross comes in. If the Cross means anything at all, it is a revelation to us of God bearing sin—your sin and mine. There is a story which is told of John Brown of Harper's Ferry, which I should like to repeat. His son had violated one of the household laws, and it was necessary to punish him. John Brown took him into one of the out-houses of the farm, and the lad waited in fear and trembling while his father went for the strap or the whip. When he came back with it, to the lad's astonishment he took off his own coat and bared his back. Then he put the strap into the boy's hand and said, "Lay it on me."

The lad demurred, and would not do it at first, but the old man compelled him to lay the strap on his father's back. That lad never sinned in the same way again. That is what God did on the Cross. He shows us what our sin means to Him—what the recoil of it upon Himself, the shock of enduring it in Himself, means to Him. The Cross is the revelation of God bearing our sin in order that He might forgive us and restore us to Himself. You remember that when the woman came into the house of Simon the Pharisee, and broke the alabaster box of ointment upon the Master's feet, He spoke a parable to Simon, the meaning of which is that sin is to be regarded as a bad debt, and the forgiveness of it as the writing off of a bad debt. But one cannot write off a debt without paying it oneself. When a creditor writes off a bad debt he takes it upon himself. That is what God has done with our sin: He has taken it upon Himself. Somewhere in that cycle is the interpretation of those deep, mysterious words of St. Paul: "He hath made Him who knew no sin to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." In some deep, inscrutable way, through some processes in the inner life of God which are translated for us into the idiom of history in the Cross, the barrier between man and God is swept away, the "new and living way" has been opened for man to the bosom of the Father, and the Father draws him with cords of love. This is the great gift that God offers and that we all need, because it contains all other gifts in itself. It is the gift of salvation—if you like to call it so. If we give its full content to the word, salvation means not merely the negative thing of saving us from ruin, but the whole process by which we are brought at last to Christlikeness. "He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?" We have security, sufficiency, and abundance of life. "The free gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." In the Cross we have the great, comprehensive, free gift, given to the world "without money and without price," unmerited, unrequitable, royally given, the gift of God's redeeming grace. We need a fresh realisation of the greatness and the

abundance of the freedom of the gift of God to us. He reconciles us to Himself freely in Jesus Christ, and multiplies upon us all that we need, the Cross ever being our assurance that He will withhold from us nothing that we are willing to receive.

As I think of the Cross and of its two sides, I realise that, on the one side, there is something in it which is complete. I like the old phrase "finished work." As a gift of God it is something which was given once for all and never needs to be repeated. But, from the point of view of the obedience of man, it is something which has to be perpetuated and repeated throughout all history; and that sense of debtorship which the acceptance of God's gifts implies, as I understand it, is the dynamic which drives us to that obedience by and through which the world redemption is to be completed. The continuous process of redeeming the world is made permanent and increasing in history, and demands the obedience of which Dr. Moulton has spoken so persuasively to us to-night. I believe that, beyond all other things, we must get back to the realisation of the magnitude, the freedom and the grace of God's gift. Then, when we have truly apprehended it, and it has become a reality in our Christian experience, we shall be able to go forth to render an obedience which will mean in very truth the making up of what is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in the world for the sin of the world. He was "obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross." That is to be the measure of our obedience. "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow me." Follow Him where? He does not say that we shall all reach Calvary; but we all have to go that way. "Follow me with the cross." We must be willing to be crucified, if need be. Yet, as I say this, I begin to shudder within myself as I think of myself in that position—my cross raised, and the possibility of being crucified on it. I wonder whether I could go through with it. I do not think that I could, unless there comes to me more and more of the experience of the reality of God's complete and perfect and unceasing gift to me. When I come to think of the greatness of the death of Christ, I

begin to see that I can withhold from God nothing that He demands. I see that He has a right to everything that He asks, and, in the strength of that knowledge, I believe—I hope—that at last I might go to Calvary and even endure a Cross.

## CHRIST THE ANSWER TO THE WORLD'S NEED : IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Address by EDWARD GRUBB.

The subject that has been allotted to me to deal with is the answer of Christ to the questions that arise out of our international relations. It is a subject of supreme difficulty, and no one could feel more entirely unfit than I do to treat it as it deserves.

One of the great difficulties of the subject is that there is a very small body of experience, as yet, by which we can judge of the influence of Christ in international relations. As Mr. Roberts told us on Saturday, there has never been a Christian nation, if we take it, as I suppose we do, that our Lord taught and meant that we should not resist by force those who would do us wrong. The "Holy Experiment" of William Penn is of immense significance, and I would not belittle it for a moment; but it is not wholly convincing, because Pennsylvania was not a sovereign state: it was a colony, which Britain was bound, in the last resort, to defend.

In the absence of facts of experience we might be thought to be thrown back on faith; but, to most people, the faith that a nation could maintain itself without preparing for armed defence seems vain and foolish. To talk of stopping the German army with love seems to be about as sensible as to suggest that a mad elephant could be checked in its career by patting it on the back.

We are asked whether it is reasonable to suppose that an Empire like ours, won largely by the sword and maintained to a great extent by it, would be safe if it abandoned its army

and navy. I think that the only answer to that question must be "No"; that is, if we suppose that other things remain the same—that our methods of diplomacy and our internal social relations continue on the same basis as at present, and that we remain largely self-interested, seeking for gain and loving luxury, and so on, in our private relations. We may even say that the dictum, many years ago, of a celebrated bishop, that, if England were to live by the Sermon on the Mount, she could not last a week, is only the dictum of common sense.

There is the assumption made by many that our Lord's teachings were never meant to cover the life of nations. We may agree, I think, that probably He had not such matters consciously before His mind; that, under the existing conditions of the Roman Empire in His day, He hardly could have had. But, on the other hand, if we are to worship Him as the Lord of Life, He must be for us the Lord of Life in all its aspects, and we cannot put international relations on one side as things on which He has nothing to say.

When we have acknowledged all this, however, there is still another side to the matter. There are many facts available to show us that, without spiritual defences, material ones are of little or no avail. What is really the secret of the magnificent outburst of loyalty that we have seen in the last few weeks, not only all over this country, but also from all the colonies of the British Empire, and even from India? Is it our army or our navy, or the force of the diplomacy which we have practised in the past? Surely not. We can all see that the real secret of the loyalty of the distant parts of the Empire to the mother country is that, with all our manifold shortcomings, which we must recognise to the full, we have, on the whole, as a nation, stood for justice, for liberty, for the rights of weaker peoples, and for right dealings in relations between bodies of men. These are the things that have bound our Empire together. We have, moreover, before us the great object-lesson of the century of peace between our own nation and America, which was to have been celebrated this year—a peace maintained by means of an unguarded frontier of thousands of miles, and a chain of

great lakes on which, by mutual agreement, no warship ever sails. We have to contrast with that hundred years of unguarded peace the palpable failure of the attempt to keep the peace of Europe by preparing for war. To the testimony of the hundred years of peace we may add the many disputes which have been settled by methods of arbitration, the awards of the arbitrators having been, I think, in nearly every instance faithfully observed, though without armed force to back them. There is, after all, a sound basis in fact and experience for the faith that spiritual forces are stronger than material ones, that justice, liberty, right dealing, and mutual trust and confidence are possible between nations; and that, after all, it is a monstrous travesty of the facts to say that Corsica has conquered Galilee. Further, we see, by ordinary methods of common sense, how in modern life nations really are bound together by the ties of commerce, credit, and so on, in such a way that, if one nation suffers, all suffer with it. Thus we find that the teaching of the brotherhood of the whole human race is being justified by the facts of experience, and the method of faith is also shown to be practical.

Now, what does it mean when we speak of the faith that Christ is the sufficient answer to the problems of our international relations? In the first place, it surely means that a nation must be regarded as a moral unit, and as being subject to the moral law as much as individuals are. I was glad of the remarks that were made by Richard Cross the other day on the sacredness of the personality (if we may so put it) of nations, and to hear it said that we have no right to trample on that sacred personality, no matter how small a nation might be. Surely the converse of that is that the nations themselves have a personality which is subject to the moral law, that it is binding on them, as well as on individuals, to do right, and that it is monstrous to suggest, as Treitschke and Bernhardi do, that there is nothing higher than the State, that the State can do what it likes and will always be right.

Then, again, faith in Christ means faith in those moral forces of which I have spoken—faith in the supremacy of justice, love and mutual confidence, and in the ability of those forces to overcome fear, suspicion and distrust. We

must, I believe, beware of small and unworthy thoughts of what "Christ" means, and of what He stands for. He does not stand for weakness, for a flabby good-nature, but for strength—the strength of spiritual forces. What is it that really constitutes a strong nation and one that is fit to survive? It is not armed forces. It is its care for liberty and for justice, its support of the weak, its loyalty to great ideals. Those things are derided by Nietzsche as weakness—as Galilee. He upholds Corsica as the ideal, but at the cost of truth.

The fact is that egoism and materialism are blind—blind to the deepest facts of life. Professor Cramb tells us that he wrote his book to help people "to see things as they are"; but this is exactly what he fails to do. It is already clear that German materialism has fatally misjudged the real situation; it thought that as soon as war was declared British colonies would throw off their allegiance, that India and Egypt would revolt, and so on.

We may have to admit (I personally should certainly do so) that spiritual defences alone are not enough for a nation that has only just begun to understand and believe in them. If they are to be sufficient, a nation must persistently strive to live by them, and must make it clear to all that she does believe in them and is willing to risk something in that faith. Such a nation (it is part of our faith to be assured) would win the trust of other nations, and would call out the best elements in them instead of the worst.

Here I feel that I must, for a moment, enter upon the debatable domain of politics. I cannot help expressing, as part of what I have to say, my deep conviction that we might have had a foreign policy inspired with more sympathy, more imagination, and more realisation of the deeper elements of our international life. We might have had one which would have appealed to and brought out all the best, the sanest, and the soundest elements in German life, instead of driving those under and making the German people feel that they were being encircled, suppressed, checked, and thwarted, and that their only hope lay in surrendering themselves to Prussian militarism.

This war may, after all, be our great opportunity if only we have the power and the faith to use that opportunity rightly. There was a fine sentence in a letter in *The Nation* a week ago, in which it was said, "Armies may destroy armies, but no army ever destroyed militarism, because it is a state of mind." Surely the only way to destroy German militarism is to seek for a righteous outcome of this war, a settlement which will leave no rankling sore, but will bring to the surface those best elements in the German nation of which I have spoken, and which are at present submerged.

We must be content to have patience and to wait for the victory of Christ. That victory is sure if we who have seen the vision are faithful to it. All through human history progress has been won by the few who have been faithful to the higher truth that has been revealed to them. Whether we think of the prophets of the Jewish race and of other races, or whether we think of a people like the Jewish race itself, which has had a higher truth committed to it, we find that the progress of humanity has been possible only through the faithfulness of the few. It depends upon us who have seen something of the higher vision to help our Lord Himself to achieve His victory over international life, and make the kingdoms of this world the kingdom of God and of Christ.

## CONSTRUCTIVE WORK FOR PEACE.

Address by GEORGE W. NASMYTH (an American Peace Worker).

I was in Germany with Henry T. Hodgkin at the outbreak of the war; and the sound that remains in our ears is the sobbing of women. It is hardly possible for a country like this, which does not have conscription, to imagine what the outbreak of a war means in a country like Germany, where every man between the ages of 18 and 45 is taken away from his wife and family. On going back to Germany at the end of August I found a sorrow and a solemnity which I had never seen there before; but I found also an absolutely united people—united in the belief that their cause was right, and that they were defending themselves against a ring of enemies who had determined to break up and crush their Empire, and against the aggression of Pan-Slavic parties in Russia which had determined to break up the Austrian Empire. They were looking first at Russia and then at England as the cause of the war, because, as they understand it, Russia would never have dared to enter upon her policy of aggression unless she had been sure not only of the support of France, but also of that of England. In England we find Germany almost universally held up as the sole cause of the war. When there is a state of things such as this—each country sincerely and honestly believing that it is acting only on the defensive, and that some other country is the cause of the war—I think that the conclusion which follows is that, whatever may be the share of the guilt of the individual countries concerned, it is the system which is much more at

fault. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is the test that has been given to us. If the false system of the philosophy of force has brought forth such fruit as this, it stands self-condemned. I believe that it has brought it forth. I believe that armaments, as a method of maintaining peace, and that the method of diplomatic negotiation which consists in threatening one's neighbour in order to make him back down, have their logical outcome in the condition in which we find Europe at the present time.

The breakdown of the old system of political philosophy brings with it the necessity for reconstruction. That reconstruction affects not only our international relation, but also our whole social order. Mr. Brailsford has said : "Armies may destroy armies, but no army ever destroyed militarism, because it is a state of mind." It is a state of mind which believes that society is based upon force, and, although we have its most dramatic exposition in the field of international relations, it runs right through our social fabric. We see it particularly in America, in our relations between labour and capital. We find it in the question of the rights of women, not only with regard to militancy itself, but in the argument against giving women political rights because society and government are based upon force. We find it in Protection, and in the whole of the diplomatic theory. You can hardly touch any part of our social order in which the philosophy of force does not run.

Now, I believe that we are on the verge of a great revolution, that there will be a realisation that the path of force upon which mankind has been going for so long is a wrong one, and that there will be a turning away from it to the path of co-operation, where, instead of the philosophy of force which has so visibly broken down, we shall have a new society built on the foundations of the philosophy of love. Such a revolution—an intellectual one primarily—would be comparable with that which took place in the sixteenth century, when men turned away from authority as the method of discovering truth, and found the new path of experiment—the inductive method. It would be comparable also to the revolution which Galileo brought into astronomy, when

men's thoughts were turned away from the earth to the sun as the centre of the solar system, and to that which took place when Kant turned the attention of men away from the outside universe and focussed attention upon the mind and spirit of man as the centre of all philosophy. We have made a wonderful advance, during the last century, in the field of the physical universe; but we have not been able to reap the social fruits of that advance, nor the spiritual ones which must come upon the social fruits, because we have not understood the laws of society, but have had the false philosophy of force for the foundation of society. But now we are upon the threshold of a great advance in the understanding of the true principles of human relationships—the principles of Christ. I think of Christ standing at a street corner, with infinite pity in His heart, watching the crowds of men and women going by, witnessing their suffering and misery, and finding the causes of it in the wrong principles upon which society was organized, and of His discovering, just as a great inventor discovers things in the physical world, the real principles of the true social structure, and giving them to us—especially in the Sermon on the Mount, which, if we read it as a programme of social reconstruction, causes a vista of progress to dawn upon us.

Now we have the opportunity of taking the next step, which is to give these principles their national and scientific basis. We have been doing this during the last decade especially. We have made enough advance in economics, sociology, and psychology to begin to find out certain truths. The marvellous thing is that, whenever we find out a truth, we discover that it agrees with the things that Christ arrived at by—shall I say?—faith, intuition, the closeness of His walk with God. The world is looking, and will ever be looking more and more, for a rational programme for social reconstruction. Men all over the world are recognising that the old system has broken down, and are looking for a new one. They are being offered, especially in Germany, the rational, logical plan of the Social Democratic Party, which offers the possibility of doing away with war, and is, I believe, fundamentally Christian. It has some elements in

it which are not Christian, but those elements in it which the world is generally accepting are Christian. But there is a wonderful opportunity opening out now for the Church in all countries to put forth a Christian plan of social reconstruction, and to give it the rational foundation on economic, sociologic, and political lines which the world must have before it can largely accept it.

Now, certain things are necessary in order to change the conception of the world from Christianity as a method of saving our own miserable souls to Christianity as a great programme for establishing the kingdom of heaven upon earth here and now. One of these is an emphasis upon the positive aspects of Christianity. We cannot dwell upon its self-sacrificing, negative side when we try to make a political policy for the nations. We must turn to its positive side—the side not of self-sacrifice but of self-realisation. We must put the beatitudes of Christ over against the terrible parody of them which Nietzsche has made, and show how the one means the disintegration of the social order, and how the other leads inevitably to "life more abundantly." Secondly, we must understand what the great social programme of Christ is, and then we must all join in giving it a rational basis.

I should like for a few minutes to illustrate some of the things for which a rational basis has already been or is being worked out. One of them, for example, is the doctrine of non-resistance. I believe that the present war is primarily one of fear. It is caused especially by the competition of armaments, and by the fact that the measures which each nation took in order to resist a possible aggression were interpreted by other nations as threats, and led to counter-measures, and so on. I know, for example, that the German people could never have been brought into this war (no matter what the theories of the militarists may be), unless they were convinced that it was a war of defence. If there had been a strong feeling of non-resistance in France, the German nation would never have attacked the French. It was only because they were afraid that, if they began what was really (from their point of view) a war against the

aggression of Russia, the old feeling in France would rise up, and that France would stand against them, that they declared war on France. When the practical question arose in France, "Where shall we send our wives and children in order that they might be safe?" the answer was, "Send them to an old unfortified town." We have the instance of the Mayor of Lille telegraphing to the Commander of the French Army, "Do not send a single soldier here. We are safer where no soldiers are present." In Brussels and in Ghent not a single life has been lost. We have seen a striking case for the advantage of adopting this attitude of non-resistance in Finland. There one sees the Finnish people—one of the highest in the rank of civilisation—under the oppression of the Russian autocracy, with Tartars and Cossacks horded upon them and taking away their liberty. It looks as if that was an almost insufferable position from outside, when one studies the wonderful civilisation which they have, with no illiteracy, no percentage of infant mortality, and with women taking the highest place of any country in the world. But imagine what the condition of the Finnish people would have been if they had opposed physical force, and had resisted evil with evil. They would not have been able to prevent Russian oppression, but would have made their own condition a great deal worse, as well as delaying the day which was inevitably coming when they should get their freedom.

Another point which I wish to mention in this connection is the futility of physical force—morally, politically, and socially. We have been told that this war is one against Prussianism and militarism, and that we are waging it in order to break these things down. But the practical result of it has been that the Social Democrats of Germany, who hate Prussianism and militarism, and fight it more bitterly than anyone in England or America could possibly do, have been forced to unite with militarism for the time being. They say, "We have either to unite with militarism or we have to see our country overrun by the Russians." And, if the war is continued beyond the point where it becomes resistance to German oppression—beyond the point where the German armies are pushed back inside their own frontier—

## FRIENDS AND THE WAR

and the programme of crushing, dismembering, and humiliating Germany is carried out, we shall destroy the most powerful force in the world which is working and fighting against Prussian militarism—the Social Democrats in Germany.

I will now give one or two practical suggestions.

The next step that needs to be taken is to get England and the Allies to formulate their demands. Germany has telegraphed to President Wilson her condition of peace. It is a very simple one, namely, that the German Empire must not be dismembered. That is all that they ask. From what I saw of the German people I believe that they sincerely and truly think that they have been set upon by enemies from all sides; and all they ask for is a peace which will prevent their dismemberment. Before President Wilson can do anything in the matter he must know what the conditions of the Allies are. I think that it is time that the world knew for what this war is being waged, and that the Allies should say, if not what their conditions of peace are, at least what must be accomplished before conditions of peace are discussed.

Secondly, what are the conditions of reconciliation between Germany and England? I found all through Germany people who said, "The interests of England and Germany are really common. In spite of this war we must come together again. We must get right afterwards." The war of 1866 between Austria and Prussia did not prevent the two countries from coming together again; and this war cannot, in the long run, prevent our coming together again. England lays down as a condition for reconciliation the destruction of Prussian militarism. If we get a generous, or even a wise, statesmanlike peace, the Social Democratic Party in Germany will soon destroy Prussianism and militarism. On the German side the condition for reconciliation is that England shall give up the secret diplomacy which she has carried on in her foreign policy. If you believe that Germany is entirely in the wrong, and so has caused this war, you should read a book by Mr. E. D. Morel, *Morocco in Diplomacy*. It is out of print now; but you can get it from a library. There you have a quite different view of German diplomacy and of the responsibility for this war.

We can see great forces making for the revolution of which I have spoken—an intellectual revolution that must be primarily one that will give us a great new social order. In America especially we have tremendous forces along that line. Our farmers are in favour of peace; our business men are peace workers; our whole educational system works towards peace. One political party—the Democratic—is practically a pacifist party. The women's movement in America, which is just on the threshold of its entrance into public and political life, is one of the most tremendous forces for peace. The greatest opportunity of all, I believe, lies with the Christian Church. The Church in America is awakening to its opportunity. But the thing which all the forces which I have mentioned need is guidance. Every Christian leader and preacher ought to be familiar with the case for co-operation as a basis of society as against force. We have to prepare ourselves to be leaders of the great revolution which is coming all over the world. The rest of the world is only a few months behind this Conference. After the war we shall have a revolution against militarism such as we have never seen before.

## CONSTRUCTIVE WORK FOR PEACE.

Address by ARNOLD S. ROWNTREE, M.P.

In the few minutes left before we close I want to ask whether the policy which we have had commended to us during these days is or is not a practical one. One thing, at any rate, will now be admitted: the policy of force, of gigantic armaments, has dismally failed. In the coming days we must put before the nation a policy dictated by other motives and on other lines, and must prove, if we can, that our policy is a practical one.

Let us, for the sake of argument, grant, as has been said several times already from this platform, that, given things as they were, it was practically impossible for our Government to have refrained from taking part in this war. This does not mean that the war could not have been prevented if, in previous years, we had pursued a different policy. Let us consider some of the chief directions in which I think we have failed.

Have we ever, as a nation, fully recognised what is known in Germany as "the Russian menace"? Have we tried, as individuals or as a nation, to grapple with this real difficulty and to meet it? We have not. Whilst we have maintained our armies and our Dreadnoughts, we have not tried—let it be said to our shame—to understand this fear which possesses the German people, or helped to meet it.

Or consider the philosophy popularly known as the "gospel of force," which has been promulgated throughout the German nation, and which seems to have gripped every section of it. We say we are fighting this philosophy, but

surely it is an extraordinary thing to believe that the doctrine of force can be killed or suppressed by force. The curse of depending upon material force is, that in so doing, moral force is ignored. What have we done to grapple with this difficulty on moral lines? Have we, as a Church, or has the wider Church, of which we are a part, attempted, through its great leaders, to meet with men like Harnack and Eucken, men who have been fighting this false philosophy in Germany, and with them to come to a common basis and a common understanding? Should we not have tried to start a great international movement to destroy this iniquitous doctrine, not only in Germany but in other countries as well, including our own? We have not done this, and therefore we must share the blame for not having seen the way in which we should have walked. It is surely partly our fault that men of vision like Harnack, who have striven against this doctrine of force, are now strongly supporting those who believe in it.

Then, again, what are we to say of the four million German Social Democrats who, we believe, were really in favour of peace? What have we done to effect a systematic understanding with them? We have organized our German visits, we have established our Anglo-German Friendship Committees, and these have done good; but we have never tried, on a large national scale, to meet these people and to help them in what they felt to be their real difficulties—on the one hand to meet what they term the menace of Russia, on the other hand to meet the oppression of a bureaucratic Prussian militarism.

If we had really felt the necessity of working by moral forces, should we not as individuals and as a nation have laboured persistently during recent years to have established a Federation of European States, founded on the basis of public rights? Might we not also have pointed out that if there was to be an effective council of Europe, that council should be representative of the democracies of each country? If we had been able to satisfy the Social Democrats that we were anxious to remove any well-founded fear of Russia, and at the same time were anxious to strengthen the democratic

power of the nations, is it not possible that we might have averted this awful catastrophe which has come upon us to-day?

It is indeed essential that our policy of peace shall not be merely passive and negative, but that it shall be positive and progressive.

Do you remember the wonderful essay of Emerson, written, I think, in the year 1838, in which, in answer to people putting the same kind of query as they are putting now as to the possibility of non-resistance in the face of actual attack, he gives his views as to the necessity for an active peace policy?—

“ . . . Such deductions consider only one-half of the fact. They look only at the passive side of the friend of peace, only at his passivity : they quite omit to consider his activity. But no man, it may be presumed, ever embraced the cause of peace and philanthropy for the sole end and satisfaction of being plundered and slain. A man does not come the length of the spirit of martyrdom without some active purpose, some equal motive, some flaming love. If you have a nation of men who have risen to that height of moral cultivation that they will not declare war or carry arms, for they have not so much madness left in their brains, you have a nation of lovers, of benefactors, of true, great and able men. Let me know more of that nation; I shall not find them defenceless, with idle hands hanging at their sides.”

This brings me to another aspect of the problem, where surely we feel that we must condemn ourselves. Our policy of peace has been too negative, too limited. We have believed in a wonderful doctrine of the personality of Man. We have said, “ We will not go to war because we will not kill our fellow men, and because war degrades that great personality ‘ in whom dwelleth the seed of God.’ ” But we have not faithfully carried out the positive side of this doctrine in all our work, in the State, in the city, in the factory, and in the home. Now that we have seen our mistakes we must try to create a view of that doctrine that can be applied to our every-day life in all its aspects.

Edward Grubb was right when he pointed out that (as I think is admitted by all) in the treatment of our colonies we have shown the one way of holding them—the way of freedom and self-government. We now see that we must look to the establishment of a United States of Europe, with a council whose decrees shall be public. Let us work for that end, believing it to be on the lines of true evolution and a real attempt to translate the mind of Christ into international politics.

But let us think about Britain's future as well. We must recognise that here at home the development of personality is not given a fair chance when men have not decent conditions under which to live and labour. If we recognise the value of personality with regard to war abroad, we must keep the same view before us when we come to consider conditions at home. We must admit, too, that we have neglected to nurture and cultivate the gifts that God has given to everyone. In all our educational effort, our aim should be not simply to teach a man a trade, but so to direct and develop the faculties that God has given him that he may be able to live up to the top of his capacity.

And let us remember, as Kolt the Danish educationist said with regard to education, "that it is not so much what we put on in patches from outside that matters, because that washes off; what is vital is that which comes from within."

To our shame we must also remember that one reason why our testimony in the past has been so ineffective is because we ourselves have not become the great spiritual and moral force that we should be. If we refuse to fight by the sword, we must possess qualities which will be more effective than the sword. We have learned during these last sad weeks that we have failed because we have not known sufficient of God's will in our own hearts, and have not understood fully what His work for us really is. So it is that we feel humble and penitent, each one desiring to remedy the mistakes of the past, and once more to dedicate ourselves to this great and supreme purpose.

## “QUIETNESS AND CONFIDENCE.”

Address by L. VIOLET HODGKIN.

Our only justification for daring to come to this Conference just now is that we came not only to receive help from one another, but chiefly that we might listen to the voice of God, calling to us in our altered lives. We thankfully recognise how much He has given us already during these days; but the time still left to us here is now very short. Is there not something more He has to say to us—something that needs very careful and attentive listening, coming to us directly from Him? We must hear the Message clearly in our own hearts before we can attempt to pass it on to others.

In happier times I should like to talk about quietness and confidence; but to-night I feel that I cannot do so. This is not a time for words: it is the things themselves we want, not any thoughts or talk about them. These last few weeks at any rate have burned us into reality. This fiery time through which we are passing will leave its mark upon us. We shall never be the same men and women after this that we were before.

Come with me for a few minutes to our Roman Wall in Northumberland. There, in the Camp at Chesters, close to the North Tyne, among the grey stone ruins left by the Romans, you will see certain buildings of which the stones are a different colour—red instead of grey. These stones tell us that long ago there must have been a great burning there. History has forgotten all about this great conflagration. No record of it remains, except the witness of those changed stones, changed through and through by the burning they

have endured. Even so we are being changed, both individually and as a Society. And in this burning, where so much is puzzling and doubtful, certain things are coming out already with startling clearness. We were told this morning that this war would either "make or break" the Society of Friends. That is abundantly evident. We shall never be merely the same looked-up-to, respected—shall I say, easy-going?—Society hereafter that we have been hitherto. We are going to count either for very much more, or for very much less, in the national life.

Our peace principles are also going through the furnace. That is the reason of all the searchings of heart, of all the agonizing thoughts that are going on and waking up even the smallest, sleepiest, furthest-off meetings throughout the country. We have to find out for ourselves whether the peace principles that many of us have simply held academically and comfortably hitherto are really part of our vital faith, or if they are merely what one of our Friends calls "an ornamental appendage like a magpie's tail."

These are central questions; but there is another which is more central still. In this burning time our hold on God and God's hold on us are being tested. When we come out of it we shall either be very much more sure of Him or very much less sure. He will be a much closer and deeper reality in our lives, or else much further off, only an airy vision. The vital question is, Are we walking through the furnace alone, or is there One with us whose form is like the Son of Man? All through this Conference we have been constantly coming to that central question. We cannot get away from it. The scene now is not the same as it was in Nebuchadnezzar's time: the actors have changed; but the age-long drama goes on. It is the central conflict of humanity. On Saturday night it was spoken of as a conflict between Corsica and Galilee. By what we call "accident" on my return from that meeting I lighted on some words spoken by Napoleon himself. They may be new to some here. I had quite forgotten them. He said: "Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, and I myself have founded empires; but upon what did these creations of our genius depend? They depended upon force.

Jesus Christ founded His empire upon love; and to this very day millions would die for Him." It looks as if Galilee had conquered Corsica—and may yet conquer Krupp.

And it is in this tremendous conflict that we suddenly find ourselves called to choose, to decide; with that thought comes the fear—the haunting fear—that we may fail to do our tiny part. Looking at ourselves, thinking of ourselves, even as part of our dear Society, we are bound to fail. And we must not fail. We have to look right away from our weakness, and then we find that

"Thy greatness makes us brave as children are  
When those they love are near."

So, in the time that is left to us, let us wait in quietness and in confidence, and as we wait we shall find that God is waiting with us, ready to reveal Himself to us, in new and wonderful ways, more wonderful even than those we have already known in the past, to reveal Himself not only as our daily and hourly Counsellor and Guide, but also most surely as our Everlasting Strength.

## THE DIVINE RESOURCES.

Address by PROFESSOR D. S. CAIRNS, D.D.

I am here to-night to confess with you my great perplexity with regard to the vast war of nations and principles that has broken out around us. An old order is being broken up, and a new one is being born. Yet, little as I understand it all, I cannot say that I feel dismayed. I do not suppose that, in our heart of hearts, any of us feel so.

“Then was I as a child that cries,  
But crying, knows his father near.”

The great heavenly things are not shaken.

Dr. Hodgkin spoke a little while ago of your not knowing where your consecration would take you. That is the very essence of consecration. Cromwell said once : “A man never rises so high as when he does not know where he is going.” He who has dedicated himself to Honour, Love, and Truth has not the least idea where in this world he is going. He only knows that he is going Home. And we who stand in the midst of this convulsion know that the eternal things do not change, and that, great as is the task that lies before us, we are in the hands of Almighty God, who will strengthen and guide us and overrule it all. We have to realise anew that God is at work in this great European chaos. We are disposed, through the horror and obvious sin of it, to forget that—the Sovereignty of God. Therefore we do not get to the heart of things even when we talk about the need for human strenuousness in fighting that great human sin, when we talk of meetings and agitations and

testimonies. All are necessary, but we have to go deeper. If we do not see the whole under the form of eternity we do not see it at all. We can only get to the truth of it all if we endeavour to view it in the light of God, who is already at work judging and redeeming and retrieving the sin of man. It is His work to bring things right, and ours to be His faithful servants, who, while they seek to do their duty, cast on Him every burden.

Now, when one looks out upon the great welter around us, one of the first thoughts that arises in one's mind is the difficulty of getting it under the categories of evolution. The idea of progress by "infinitesimal increments" alone has been in the minds of everybody for the last fifty years. But now one feels that the categories of evolution are no longer adequate. They simply do not fit this sudden and vast disaster. We have to go back to the New Testament. A man wrote to me the other day saying, "How dull our commentaries have become in the presence of that vital commentary of life and death that is going on around us! How young and new the Bible has become again all at once!" In the New Testament, with the conception which underlies all the apostolic writings, of the æon that is passing away and of the æon that is coming out of the wreck—the æon of sin and death that Christ has shattered by His Cross, and the new æon that He has constituted by His resurrection—one gets categories that interpret the present situation much more adequately. I am not in the least questioning the truth of gradual evolution. Up to a certain point it is true. Beyond that it breaks down, and it has flagrantly broken down to-day. God's world is too great and rich to be exhausted by any one set of ideas, and the facts are teaching us that sudden destructions and creations are part of God's ways with men. Unquestionably what we are witnessing is the death of the old æon. Now, what we have to realise is not only that an old æon is passing away, but that already a new æon is dawning. Room is being made for it; and all the havoc and the chaos will disappear, and it will be seen. We have to try to understand all that we are witnessing; and I cannot help thinking that, when the historian comes to sum up the causes

of the present catastrophe, he will find that one of the factors operating in it was the arising of the new order within the old. It ought to have come painlessly if men had been what they ought to have been. To vary the figure, the scaffolding should have been gradually and quietly taken away. It is due to man's sin that it has come in this terrible way. But great positive forces were at work in Europe that would have brought the old order to an end. I do not doubt that social movements in Germany, and racial movements among the Slavonic peoples, will one day be seen to have been among the great causes of the war. They helped, at any rate, to precipitate the conflict. In spite of all repellent appearance, I believe that there is something of God's creative spirit both in Socialism and in Racial feeling, and that they will have a great part to play in the new order that is coming when purged of their evil elements by the discipline of the Providence of God. God is already then creating something new and vast in His world, and this may reach as sudden a climax and expression as has that long-brooding storm broken into havoc and thunder. "I saw in my vision that the four winds of heaven strove upon the sea." It is quite essential, I repeat, that we should get down through the ethical to the religious way of understanding these great and terrible events. The earth to-day is like a great judgment hall. What we are witnessing in this terrible epic of battle is the judgment and condemnation of Almighty God on the entire European international system under which we have been living. The war is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the system of armaments and diplomacy which has culminated therein. Yes, and it is the condemnation of something deeper, of the spirit and the principles of action, of the state of heart of the people of Christendom. It is a judgment also on the same spirit and temper which is manifested in the social and economic life of each of the warring nations. It is God's proof that you can never build a tolerable human society on force and fear and jealousy and hate. We have not only to preach peace to others, but we have each of us to take that lesson home. But we have happily not exhausted the religious interpretation of these events when we have

summed them up as the judgment of God. The Jew had got as far as that, but Christ has carried us farther in. To get at the heart of a great thing like this we have to go to the central truths of Christianity. So we have to bring these things to the Cross of Christ—another thing that has become young and new again. We have to see that manifested in that Cross were all the evil things that are making wreck and havoc in the world to-day. Do not let us exaggerate. There is much in all the fighting around us to-day that is noble. Many lives around us are being touched to a new nobility and sacrifice. Moreover, when all is said, there is much in it that is not sin, but blunder. Europe has become entangled in a system of madness and folly, and we have to get out of that entanglement. I believe that this war, evil as it is, is nothing like the evil of the Cross. That was the losing of the greatest of chances that the human race ever had. It was the basest deed that mankind ever committed. It was an apocalypse of the human heart. And yet—marvellous counsel of God—this great apocalypse of evil has become the greatest apocalypse of the love and greatness and healing power of God that humanity has ever seen. And, since God changes not, what He has done once in human history He will do again. The Cross proves that. He is able to take all that is going on and utterly transmute and transfigure it, so that we may be able to look back to this hour of history as one of its greatest times of progress and of redemption. It is not out of a philosophy that we get this conviction, but out of an immovable and certain fact. No reasonable human being can deny that it is true with regard to the Cross of Jesus, that here man's extremity of evil proved God's supreme opportunity of grace.

But God could not have done what He did with the Cross unless He had found a generation of men and women who could penetrate to the heart of it, led by His Spirit, and be willing to lay their lives down for what they saw in it. The whole of human history swung and turned on that group of men and women standing there by the Cross and the empty tomb; and it will swing and turn on those who are standing in the presence of this great disaster and crime of to-day. Is

the Church sufficiently alive to-day to produce men and women who believe in God after this fashion, and who are full of unconquerable confidence and hope? It is a startling thought, and one that awes us, that, by no choice of our own, you and I have been put into this critical moment in the story of the human race. Are we going to be equal to it? We feel, in every fibre of our being, that we are incompetent. Everyone of us here to-night must feel that. But that is a condition of the spirit of victory. We have to be driven back to something greater and larger than ourselves. We have to think about God and to go on thinking about Him.

How are we to think about Him? In these modern days, if we are to think of Him at all it must be in terms of Jesus. I am convinced that the great apologetic for Christianity in the days that are before us will not be arguments about the Being of God and intellectual dialectics generally. The argument for Jesus Christ will be that when we follow our highest conscience we are simply not able to get on without Him. Have we not all found that in our own lives? Why do we believe in Jesus? Because somehow He has put Himself into our lives. He has come in through experience in such a fashion that, if we are to live our noblest, we cannot get on without Him. It is the literal truth that He is the Bread of Life and the Living Water of the soul. I believe that Europe is going to find, if it is to go up in the scale of being, it cannot get on without Him. We see what all our intellect and wealth and religiosity and pride have come to. We see what humanity has made of itself : it has destroyed itself. To follow the track it has been going upon will mean the extermination of the human race—not only of Europe, but of the great heathen peoples. You cannot repeat ancient Rome to-day. It is incredible that any one Power can come out in the Roman style and give the Roman peace. If we take the Roman methods it will mean the extermination of Europe. Thus one sees in the present situation the making foolish of all the world wisdom and culture that was endeavouring to get along without Christ. The root of the whole mischief is that people all over Europe have come to believe that there is no law of right and wrong for nations

as there is for individuals, that the laws of kindness, honour, and truth do not run as between nations. These things mean Christ, and His Law of Love; but His Law of Love stands or falls with His fundamental thought of faith in God.

When we come to Christ's teaching, what we find everywhere is insistence upon faith. Everywhere His message to men is, "Believe in God." He is always insisting that we cannot believe in Him too much. He preached faith in God in a most uncompromising way—no other teacher has ever paralleled Him in His teaching here as to unconditional Faith, faith in God's power, His love, His liberty to help man. He said that where there was no faith He could do nothing. He said that great faith would do great things. And he asserted the same principle proportionately. "According to your faith be it unto you." He drives home the whole in the repeated saying, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove." What a revelation of God there is in all this teaching! It all, plainly, presupposes endless loving-kindness and fathomless resources and blessing and succour in God. From it we see that we cannot think too generously of Him, or make too much of His omnipotence and of His perfect liberty to help us. So you get to the deep root of the sin and the weakness of man when you touch his unbelief.

The more I think of the teaching of our Lord concerning faith the more I have the sense that around us there is a sea of power and love and strength and life, and that the thing that we need to learn above all else is to become so receptive that that sea can break in upon us. Is not that the message that we need as we confront the duty that lies before us? Truth is given only to men and women who are facing their duty. As we face the task that we have to do, somehow there comes to us the revelation of God that can help us to do it. If we shun our whole duty our thought of God contracts, and less seems possible to us. As you and I face what lies before us now, let us realise that it may be that we are also face to face with the greatest potentiality of getting

to know God that we have ever had in our lives, and our victory depends upon our opening our minds to Him in order that He may come in to flood them with His strength and life.

Some time ago I was standing with a friend near a fir wood high up above the valley of the Tweed. Some of his workmen had been excavating there for him, and had begun the opening of a prehistoric grave, and we had gone up to examine what might be in it. As we stood looking into the cist at our feet, we saw some white specks of bone, which were all that remained of what had once been a man; and our thoughts went back to the savage mourners who had been around that grave face to face with the great mystery of death the last time that it was open to the sun. We thought of those poor savage men living their life under "the terrible conditions of prehistoric times," hating their fellow-men and living at enmity with them in perpetual tribal war. Then we looked around us at the wide sunny valley that we both knew so well. We saw the smoke of many homes ascending in the clear winter air, and thought of the honest, faithful human lives that were being lived under those humble roofs. We looked at the cultivated fields around us, and thought of all that science had done to make the ground fruitful. We were living in a world of which in a measure we had learned the secrets—the hidden forces of the earth and of the sky and in the depths of the human heart. Now, the same wealth was around the poor savage man, but he was not able to take it in. The electric forces were there; the coal was there; and deep in the human heart there were treasures of fidelity, honour, truth, and love; but he had not the clue to them. They were all riches that were waiting for him. Is not that a parable of what is around you and me? There is a great wealth of love and of victory over death and chance and time waiting for us in Almighty God. We are but beginning to learn the profound secret of simple confidence and trust in His absolute power and love and liberty to help man. And, surely, too, there is a great wealth of noble inspiration lying around us in human hearts which we have as yet to discover.

Surely one of the lessons that we have to learn is that, as a Christian Church, we have not got at anything like what *fellowship* really means. You, perhaps, who are known as "Friends," are less open to this criticism than many other communions. But have even you got at anything like the vital forces that love and sympathy, toil and anguish, for a great cause may call forth in the human heart? Surely all around us there are powers in God and powers in the soul of man that, when reached and used, will lift the human race as much above us to-day as we are above the savage man of prehistoric times. There is no limit in God or in the soul of man to what may yet be won. But there is one point at which the allegory breaks down. The great world of life and power and joy that are in God are not waiting for us to grow up to them. They have come to us. "He made Himself of no reputation. He laid His glory by. He took upon Him the form of a servant," becoming "obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." God has come to us, and all is given to us in Jesus Christ. He comes to us with open hands and calls to you and me to-night to begin a new discipleship, a new fellowship. Into whatsoever place you go in your work for the coming of His kingdom, remember that He is waiting for you there. I am sure that as you and I face our duty we shall get deeper into that fellowship which brings with it the secret of perpetual youth. We shall have a new birth day by day into the Eternal Order and into God. Swedenborg has said that God's angels in heaven always grow younger. "They shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint."

## A CHRISTIAN SPIRIT IN TIME OF WAR.

Address by GULIELMA CROSFIELD.

The other day I heard a story about Lord Kitchener. I cannot say whether it is true or not. He was sitting at dinner recently, when the lady beside him, anxious to make herself as agreeable as possible, began to extol his profession and his great place in it. But he turned to her and said : " Madam, war is a terrible thing, and it is women like you that make it." There are two points worth noting in this story. One is that Lord Kitchener acknowledged a power behind the sword—a power even stronger than that of his profession. The other is that he acknowledged that women could wield that power. In the case of the woman to whom he was speaking it was for evil; but we may say with faith and hope that they might wield it also for good.

I believe that I have the wish of the chairman before me when I speak especially to women this morning. A great deal has been said—and rightly so—to men, because, of course, their claim comes prominently in this great question; but perhaps a few words might be well addressed to women.

I think that it is a matter of great significance to-day that, during the last fifty years, there has been such an awakening with regard to women. When we look at that awakening, what do we find? We find that it has been following the lines of two basic principles, one of which is that the work of women is to take place upon the spiritual plane in contradistinction to the physical plane—that their ideal of force is to be spiritual as distinct from the pagan ideal of physical force. The other principle is equally significant. It is the

realisation all over the world of the comradeship of womanhood. This is a very remarkable development, and one upon which I might speak for a long time. This comradeship links up East and West. Out of it have arisen a number of world organizations, one of which alone has seven million members, in which the dominating thought is the comradeship and sisterhood of women, a thought which overlies all sense of nationality, caste, creed, race, or language, and which recognises that the one great desire of our hearts is that we may all help and serve one another. I think that it is not for nothing that women have arrived at this position to-day. Perhaps the time when we can put it into force is not yet; but we must be ready for that time. If we may believe the more optimistic portions of our journalism and our press, they are looking forward to what is sometimes called the new civilisation, the building up after the time of destruction. When the destructive forces have done their worst and the time to reconstruct has come, then, it seems to me, women will have their quota to give. Out of the suffering and striving of long centuries surely we can show we have learned something of this great spiritual power, and, too, that we have learned something of the universal comradeship, sisterhood and brotherhood of mankind, and thus God may use us, in conjunction with our fathers, our husbands and our brothers, in doing something to build up in the great time which is to be.

Until then, it seems to me, we can afford to wait. If women can do nothing else, I think that we may be truly said to be able to wait. It seems to me that to-day, while this great battle between life and death is going on, the word comes to us with power: "Couldst thou not watch with me one hour?" and that for us it may well be that we have to do a tremendous share of the watching, the wrestling, the prayer. Believe me, this is a sacred and splendid duty, the most momentous and tremendous which lies upon us women to-day.

Above all, do not let us give place to the enemy. Do not let us step down from the high plane of spiritual power and take the lower one, mixing ourselves with the elements

which we feel are wrong to-day; for, if we do so, we may well incur the amazed sorrow of the angels. They may well say of us :

“ ‘Tis ye, ‘tis your estrangèd faces  
That miss the many splendoured thing.”

Neither do I think that we need be altogether only marking time. There is a great deal that we may do. There are the wives and children of the soldiers who have gone to the front.

It is such as these that we shall have to comfort. I have been told that many of them were sitting dazed and wretched in their own homes because they simply did not know where to turn or what to do. Can we not help these poor forsaken ones? I do not think that we can over-estimate the devotion, the consecration, and the sacrifice of many of those who have gone to the front; but I think that, in some instances, their one hour of glorious life, even with the suffering it may bring, is as nothing balanced against the misery and the sacrifice of the long dark years through which some of these poor miserable girls will have to struggle the rest of their days for themselves and their children. We have a tremendous task before us in helping the thousands and thousands of forsaken ones at this time.

It seems to me that this is one of the greatest moments that has ever come to women. Let us rise to it. I remember that, when I was a girl, a lady told us some incidents of the great war in America. She said that often in the night she would hear the troops marching through the streets, singing the victorious war-song of John Brown. Then her beautiful voice would fill the room with the words :

“ In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,  
With a radiance on His forehead which transfigures you  
and me,  
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men  
free.

Our God is marching on.”

I did not recall the incident until a short time ago when, in

the silence of the night, we heard the tramping of the troops past our door, on and on and on, as though they would never stop. Then I heard the song again. I could not distinguish the words, but memory filled them in. "God is marching on." Even in the midst of this darkness and horror God is with us. It is for us to see that, when He calls us, we shall be ready to

"Fill up the gaps in our files,  
Strengthen the wavering line,  
'Stablish, continue our march,  
On, to the bound of the waste,  
On, to the City of God."

## A CHRISTIAN SPIRIT IN TIME OF WAR.

Address by HELEN M. STURGE.

In connection with this subject very many besides myself have had heavily on their hearts the question of reprisals for the terrible things which have been suffered, and which are not necessary parts of warfare. We are rightly told to reserve judgment on some of the things which are asserted of the German Army; but it becomes every day more clear that, although there may be and probably has been exaggeration, there is a too well-founded and too large basis of fact; and I have been feeling very deeply a terror lest, when the troops of the Allies get on to German soil, anything should happen in the least like what has been done in France and Belgium.

There are, I think, two tempers of mind abroad in the land to-day. There is a spirit of rage which arises, not unnaturally but very terribly, in the minds of some who read or hear about what has been going on. It is not the things that are said to one in private (which may often be what I have heard described as being simply "off the top of people's minds") that really matter; but one sees awful things written by responsible people in responsible papers, and these, I think, cannot be said exactly to be "off the top" of anyone's mind. We need to bear testimony in private and in public against this spirit of rage.

Then there is another frame of mind, and one which is scarcely less dangerous. It is too optimistic, and considers that it is an insult to our army even to think of possible reprisals. This view is, I believe, largely held in some quarters, and the people who hold it blame those who think that reprisals are likely.

I believe that we must be in an intermediate state of mind, and I should like this Conference to think whether anything can be done in the matter. We were all glad to see that Lord Kitchener gave very sound advice to the soldiers before they started out; and one wonders whether his hands could be at all strengthened in that direction.

I do not know whether it would be at all possible for us to approach in any way also the heads of the French and Russian armies. I would just remind Friends that our Society has old relations with Russia which might make it worth while to consider this point.

May I also speak a word to the women? The sufferings and wrongs of women at the present time lie very heavily upon some of us. I wonder whether it would be possible for us to set the women's organizations going upon this matter. My sister has already written to Mrs. Creighton upon the subject; and our Bristol branch of the National Union of Women Workers is sending the following resolution to Lord Kitchener :

“ This Committee desires to express warm thanks to Lord Kitchener for the words of caution addressed by him to soldiers in reference to their treatment of the women of the countries in which they may find themselves during the war, and also its confident belief that he will take such further measures as he may deem necessary to repress the desire for reprisals which reports of recent events tend to arouse.”

I would suggest that members of the N.U.W.W. should consider whether there is anything that might be done in this direction—perhaps through their branches—and whether they might not approach Mrs. Creighton (President of the Association). Some of us were present at the International Council of Women held in Rome this summer, when resolutions were passed upon this very matter of the wrongs of women in time of war. It is a most terrible thing to think that, since that meeting only two short months ago, there has been such an awful realisation of the evil which we were then discussing.

## FRIENDS AND A UNIVERSAL SPIRIT.

Address by ELSIE M. CADBURY.

It has seemed to me that, during some of our sittings, our attitude has been rather too much one of aloofness, and that we have been, as, perhaps, some of us wish to be, "separate" from the rest of the country. We have spoken so much about "*our* testimonies," "*our* views," and "*the truth*" as *we* see it; and, when we have referred to those outside the Society, it has sometimes been with reference to their "*lower ideals*." We should endeavour to cultivate the attitude of mind that will enable us to understand the spirit that is animating those who think and act differently from ourselves, and those who, from all over the country, are doing what they conceive to be their highest duty, and are going forth to practically certain death. Those who have friends who have given their husbands and sons to the country willingly, without even calling their action a sacrifice, must realise that there is something in this devotion which we do not seem in our allusions to have quite appreciated. Our nation is undergoing a baptism of fire. If we stand aloof, and our imagination does not follow the leading of the minds of other people, we shall lose the blessing that that baptism may, perhaps, bring with it.

Perhaps you will pardon a personal allusion. I feel that I have only been able to understand what this war means since one of our sons has been out on the North Sea in charge of the trawlers which have been endeavouring to sweep the

seas clear of mines. I can realise now what it must be to the mothers and wives who open their papers every morning dreading what the news may be. We are cut off, as a rule, from participation in such anxiety and sorrow, but if we are to have any influence as we go out, as suggested, bearing the message of the gospel of peace to those who have suffered and given up so much, we must put ourselves in their place, and we must not imply that they have been following "lower ideals," or that we have come to them with truths which we alone have discovered. We must go in the spirit of sympathy and understanding, and say: "We know what you have given up for your country, we try to realise something of what is happening to your dearest, and what it must mean to you to picture them in the trenches, perhaps lying wounded and untended; we know that you too are saying this war is awful—intolerable—it is 'hell.' But we want you to work with us to make it impossible for such a thing ever to occur again—we believe that you think with us, that all war must be contrary to the spirit of Christianity."

There has been very little reference during the Conference to the sorrows of this world tragedy. Our vocal prayers have mainly centred round ourselves, have dwelt upon the sacrifice that we have to offer, and the cross that we have to bear. We have prayed for strength to uphold our views. Time after time we have met together without praying for our country, our King and the Government, and for our soldiers and sailors. I have wondered each day whether we should do as is being done all over the country at this time, namely, to have a pause at 12 o'clock when we might offer prayer for those who have responded to the call of their country, for those who are in danger, and for those who are suffering far beyond the power of our imagination to conceive, and for the restoration of peace.

I want also to say a word to the young men with whom we were asked yesterday to feel sympathy. I do not believe you ask for sympathy, and I do not feel sympathy with you! I feel that you are the ones who are to have the best chance of any of us. You will have an opportunity of learning "the meaning of the Cross," and sharing in the sacrifice. If

your convictions are strong enough to keep you at home at this crisis, they must be strong enough for you to reply effectively to those by whom you may be taunted. We say "God-speed" to you as you go forth and seize this great opportunity to carry to the world the gospel of Peace and Goodwill.

## FRIENDS AND A UNIVERSAL SPIRIT.

Address by MARY SNOWDEN BRAITHWAITE.

I agree with Mrs. Cadbury that we shall not be able to help at this time of war if we go about with a spirit of superiority, and a feeling that we are right and that those who believe in the war are absolutely wrong. I, too, have felt troubled that, during this Conference, there has been so much emphasis laid upon our position and the work that we have to do. I do believe that there is a wonderful chance before us now, if we go in the love that thinks no evil, and realise that there are ways in which we ourselves have not yet seen the light.

I have never before felt such a sense of sorrow for the sorrow of other people as I have experienced since the war began. So much is this the case that, a few days after the war broke out, I felt that it would be right for me to wear black, because I wanted to express in some tangible way—some way that people with whom I came in contact would understand—the great sorrow that I felt in my heart, and which I firmly believe could only have been brought there by a deepened understanding of the sympathy of Christ for the sorrow of the mothers and wives and sisters of those who are to-day bearing what we feel to be the unnecessary suffering that has been brought to them by the wrong thinking and wrong doing of men. I have also felt it laid upon me to write to mothers whose sons have gone to the front; and I found that they welcomed sympathy, though they knew perfectly well that to me all war was absolutely wrong. And so I believe

that, if we go to people and sympathize with them with the love that understands their feeling though it does not agree with all their thought, not trying to refute them by arguments, but listening to their point of view and trying to discover what it is that makes them think as they do, we shall have a wonderful work before us.

I trust that we, as a Society, may be willing to recognise that we have not lived, in all the relations of life, in the power of the love, the tenderness and the sympathy of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that, seeing this, we may, with true penitence of heart, wait on Him for such a filling with His Spirit as will possess us and make us useful in the work of His Kingdom.

## A WIDER CALL.

Address by THEODORA WILSON WILSON.

I want to ask whether we feel any call in connection with the 6,600 places which have been referred to where there are no Friends' meetings. Almost as soon as the war broke out I felt almost as if I had been converted—as if God had given me a great new vision. Now, that was not because I happened to belong to the Society of Friends. I believe that He has given that same vision to tens of thousands in other churches. I hope that we shall lay upon the Conference Committee the further burden of endeavouring to organize deputations to the towns and villages where there are no Friends' meetings. We have spoken of sacrifice. I believe that, if our message is accepted in any serious degree in the country, we shall be faced with persecution. If we put our vision so strongly before England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, that men pause before they join the army, what then? This is a thing which we must very seriously and prayerfully consider. If we are to be true and faithful, surely we shall not only have to work through our Friends' Meetings, our Adult Schools, and among our children. All that is excellent; but we need to hold out the right hand of fellowship to others. If it were possible for us to have a great campaign to project the wonder of this Conference to the troubled hearts of many tens of thousands of Christians up and down our Empire, I think that God would be with us.

## A WIDER CALL.

Address by Miss M. E. PHILLIPS.

I should like to say a word as a member of the Church of England. I feel it to be a very great privilege to be allowed to attend your Conference.

About a fortnight ago the thought came to me: What would be the result if it were possible to get a regiment of men, between the ages of 18 and 35, who would dedicate themselves to the service of peace? The only thing that occurred to me at the time was that such a regiment should dedicate themselves to prayer, while their fellows were working on the battlefield; but I was told that that would not be possible, because one cannot suddenly turn away from ordinary activities to pray. I realised that. But, again, I felt that such men had, somehow, to be brought together in order to do something for peace. Now, suddenly, an idea has been suggested. Why could you not go forth, not only where you already have groups of Friends, and not going by train, but walking from town to town, going forth as Christ sent His disciples? You remember that He said to them afterwards: "When I sent you without purse and scrip lacked ye anything?" and they answered, "Nothing." Could not those of you who are between the ages of 18 and 35 give up the work which you are at present doing, and go forth in little bands from town to town? Do not go only to your own people. As you came to each town could you not go to the vicarages of our clergy of the Church of England, and to the ministers of other denominations, telling them that you were going forth on this peace crusade and

asking them to help you? I think that you would find that many would do so. Go to them and ask them to take you in for the night and to give you halls to speak in. Go also to the representatives of various societies and ask them to come to your gatherings. I think that, if you did that every day, you would be able to hold a meeting in the evening. I hope that something of this kind may be done. I feel sure that in this way you might get into touch with thousands of people in this country who are only waiting to receive an invitation to come together to join such an army of peace.

## THE REAL ARGUMENT FOR PEACE.

Address by GEOFFREY HOYLAND.

A great many of us who are of enlistment age are looking forward to going back, in a few days, into a very strong atmosphere of criticism. We shall meet with a persistent demand as to why we are not enlisting. This particularly applies to those of us who are going back to College. In the past, of course, one has not been quite free from this kind of criticism; but what we shall have to face now will be something quite different from that. I have felt very strongly that the greatest work which many of us can do for Christ in the cause of peace will not lie in intellectual argument between ourselves and those who are in strong disagreement with us. In the past it has been the custom, in defending one's position, to bring forward any number of economic arguments against war. At this Conference some of us have seen that the root and backbone of our peace testimony lie in the Cross of Jesus Christ, and that the real argument for peace is in His life and death. I believe that we shall have to say this. One hates the idea of bringing religious phrases and deep religious expressions into ordinary conversation; but I believe that we shall have to do it. After all, it is our hope that the Cross of Christ is at the heart of this business. In connection with this thought one feels strongly that it is not dissatisfaction with the world outside that is going to count, but satisfaction with the Christ within. If we go to people with our arguments, and prove to them that war is horrible, we shall only be proving to them something which

they know well enough already. What they do not know is that Christ is beautiful; and I believe that upon that fact we must base everything that we have to say in connection with the service that lies before us.

## PARTING WORDS.

Address by DR. HENRY T. HODGKIN.

The hand of God was on us in bringing us to this Conference. All through these days we have felt that we were being guided by the great hand of our unseen Leader. He has brought us through a time of stress and difficulty, of illumination and inspiration, and of deep humiliation. I believe that this state of things will continue. When we leave this Conference we shall still be in some strain or stress, for, with all our thinking, we have not thought through all our problems. We have to go out into places where great difficulties confront us. Some have to go into homes where they will get no sympathy with regard to the point of view which they would try to bring before others; some to meetings which they feel sure will not respond to the message that has been laid upon them here. We have to go out to share with our brothers and sisters in the nation the great sorrow and struggle through which we are called upon to pass. Thus further stress awaits us.

But we go out also to fresh inspiration. The inspiration of these days is not something that is completed when the Conference closes. It is but the beginning of fresh light upon the fresh path that we are called upon to walk. We go out with a strong assurance that the days of vision here are not the only ones for us, but that day by day the light on our path will broaden and shine "more and more unto the perfect day."

Let us be sure, too, that it will be of no use for us to have been here unless we go out with a great humility,

treading softly on the path that lies before us, facing in weakness and dependence upon God the duties which will press upon us, and the opportunities which open out in great vistas before us.

What is it that we are going out to say to our friends? No words of mine can adequately sum up what has been laid upon us in this Conference, and what has been opened out to us through the working of God. We feel, do we not, that we have received a new conception of what it means to tread the way of peace. We have thought, perhaps, of our doctrine of the evil of war as a mere addendum to our faith. Here we have come to see that in the heart of all our thinking there lie the great principles out of which springs our sense that war is contrary to the mind of Christ. We have seen that the testimony for peace which we are called upon to proclaim is something much greater and more far-reaching than we had dreamed. It stretches out into all the departments of life. It affects the social order. It means a reconstruction of national life no less than of international relations. It goes deeper into the roots of our lives than we had thought, for it challenges in us perpetually the unloving thought, the unkind act, all envy and bitterness, all evil speech and unkind criticism, all cherishing of grudges. Such things are born of the same evil seed which is bearing its fruit in the bitter sorrows of Europe to-day, and we are called upon by our testimony for peace to fight them within ourselves until they die. Down into the roots of our lives goes the call, and at the same time it lifts our eyes higher than we dreamed—lifts them to the majesty of God on high, and to the greatest and most compelling revelation of His will that has ever been given to men, in the life, and, above all, in the death of Him who was “obedient unto death.” The gospel which we go out to preach is one which calls us no longer to regard God merely (as we have been reminded) as an auxiliary aid to us in times of distress. It calls us perpetually to think of Him as close at hand, to relate the whole of our lives to Him, to draw into our hearts the mighty streams of His grace, and to become men and women who are daily being transformed and transfigured

by His love. We have been called afresh into the service of the Prince of Peace.

When we summoned this Conference we were led to ask whether it might not be that the Society of Friends would be, as it were, re-born in facing the great tasks before it. I believe that a conviction that has been forming itself gradually within the hearts of many of us here is that our Society is in process of being re-born even now. The testimony of God within our souls is that the thing which we have prayed for is coming upon us. We have to go out in the faith that this is truly happening.

It was, however, something more than the re-birth of our Society of which we spoke. Are we to believe that the new day of faith is dawning too? The heavy clouds of sorrow and sin lie upon the horizon so thickly that we can scarcely see the penetrating rays of the Sun of Righteousness. By the eye of faith we look beyond the clouds and wait the coming of a new day. We are called to go forth and welcome it, taking it into our hearts and living in the strength of it, making it real in our homes and in our meetings.

To-day our nation believes that it has been called to undertake a mighty task—that of crushing an evil thing. We are talking about fighting to a finish—fighting until the evil of Prussian militarism is crushed, never again to curse humanity. But we have seen during these days that not thus shall the Kingdom of God come, that Corsica will not be defeated by the arm of flesh. Into our hearts has come the challenge. Will we take the path of the Man of Galilee, and work with our nation, in so far as it is working and desiring to work for the crushing of this evil thing, but work with it in a new and different spirit, and purely by the method of love? I believe that we have heard the call. I believe that in some measure it has come to each of us, and that we are going forth with bowed heads, having heard the words of our risen Master: "As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." We go to preach a new gospel, and yet the gospel which is given to us is no new one, but the same glorious gospel of love once for all given to men in Him who laid down His life on Calvary.

## “ FOLLOW THOU ME.”

Address by PROFESSOR D. S. CAIRNS, D.D.

I should like to read to you a few words from the Memorandum issued to this Conference :

“ Our Society was cradled in the spirit of prophecy. We have to ask ourselves whether we can enter into the spirit of the past, so that we, like our forefathers, take the kingdom by storm, and know within ourselves the manifestation of the power and love of the Living God. Still more, can we enter into the spirit of the present, finding our message, not in what was given to our fathers, but in what we have ourselves discovered, and finding our driving power, not in the inspiration of a great spiritual heritage, but in the endowment of power given direct to our own souls by the Holy Spirit? ”

We are all of us going out from this place into the presence of a task that we feel to be too great for us. The great calamity which has fallen upon the world has come blocking the path of all the movements for a larger and freer life in which we have been interested. Every noble movement for human progress and emancipation of the spirit finds this calamity standing right in its way like a great mountain. Mr. Gladstone once said of the Neapolitan States that they were “ the negation of God erected into a system.” Now, we are all agreed that the system out of which springs the warfare that is going on in Europe is “ the negation of God erected into a system.” We may quite honestly differ as to the means whereby we are to seek to destroy this system;

that has been generously and frankly recognised already; but we are all at one as to the enemy. My subject to-night is, how we are to get the power to do our part in the annihilation of warfare.

Now, in order to discover this, we have to go right to the heart of things. If the evil we have to destroy is "the negation of God erected into a system," we have to overcome it by the *affirmation* of God. That, as I see the matter, is the root of things. We have to affirm God. Now, we have not, as it seems to me, to go out into the world persuaded that *we* are going to abolish this system. It is not our human energies that will do it, no matter how noble and sincere they may be. It is only God that can do it. Our problem is, How are we so to bear ourselves that God may work through us? Our part is simply to be the instruments or the voice of God, in order that He may work His will through us. The way to become this, as our Lord says, is simply to have faith in Him. I cannot understand the New Testament writers until I try to find out what the Lord really was doing, and what His conception of things was. If I read the New Testament with the same kind of impartiality as when I read the teachings of Gautama and Zarathustra, there always comes upon me with overwhelming force that the Lord Jesus Christ was working with a different conception of God from that with which the Church is working to-day. Until we put that matter right, and get our minds deep into His thought of God, His sense of God, and His faith in God, we shall be relatively as impotent as we have been hitherto. It is not simply want of faith in moral forces that has brought about the present system, but want of faith in the Living God in whom all moral forces originate, and by whom they are sustained. I think that we disguise from ourselves the extent of our apostasy from the New Testament conception of God, by the thought that all Christendom is involved in it as well as ourselves. It runs through all modern thinking, and through all our philosophies and business, so that we have no standard whereby we can judge of its depth. We have to get right back to Galilee in order to measure it.

We are complaining to-day that God seems to be far away, and that, as Carlyle once said, "He does nothing." To us the world is so real that it seems difficult to get room for God. To our Lord it was the other way about. He had such a thought and sense of God that the difficulty for Him must have been to find room for the world. What causes our sense of the remoteness and absence of God is our modern religious life. It is not that He is really absent, but that there is a film over our souls—an obscuration. The simple opening of our spiritual senses to Him would, I believe, cause the vanishing away of sin and sorrow. We have to get recovery of vision, if we are to have the moral and spiritual forces necessary in order that we may go through with the tasks that we have undertaken. Our eyes are partly opened, and it is through this fact that we can, in a measure, live the Christian life. If they were wholly opened what might we not be and do, and—what is of infinitely more moment—what might not God do? The great days of faith would return, we should have a sense of Him in every fibre of our being, and there would be new things done by Him through us. It used to be that, when man had a wrong idea of God, he went mad. The mischief with our religion to-day is that it will never drive anybody mad, whether its conception of God is true or not. When God is realised as being absolute love, as well as absolute reality, freedom and power, it is not madness, but rather the coming of the Kingdom of God.

What are we Christians in the world for? One of the greatest scholars of religion in the world to-day has said that the best definition of a saint is that he is one who makes it easier for others to believe in God. That is what we are in the world for: and that, fundamentally, was what our Lord came here to do. He had only three years in which to do it, and His only instruments were His human body and soul; and yet He made the time alive and vocal and beautiful with the Lord God Almighty. The reason for our being called into discipleship is that, in our human measure, we may do the same. If we get near enough to Him, and the film can be taken off our souls, how we shall go into all

crusading and suffering and enduring! We shall have a sense of the Almighty presence calling us hour by hour, bearing us up and carrying us on, loving and reassuring us, so that what seems to be hard now—what seems to be the cross—will be heaven then. He can lift us above thinking that it is a hard thing that He is giving us to do. We have not got deep enough into the meaning of the Cross and of the revelation of Jesus Christ.

An American poet tells how once, away in the far West, in a remote valley of the Rocky Mountains, he and a number of friends were lying around the camp fire at night, discussing how the human race might climb to God and, after long climbing, find Him. One by one they fell asleep; but he lay awake, and heard the pine boughs murmuring in the wind from the far heights; and it seemed to him as if they were talking with one another, and that what they were saying was this :—

“Heard ye these wanderers talking of a time  
When man more near the Eternal God shall climb?  
How like the newborn child that cannot tell  
How close his mother’s arms enfold him warm and well!”

The reason of our impotence is that we do not realise how close and near and living God is. As I read the teaching of our Lord, He is always thinking of God as of One who is trying to get His full mind out in the world, and who can only perfectly utter himself when He gets those who believe in Him. It has been truly said that ordinary history is man’s prose, but that the Christian life is God’s poem. The great Artist and Author is seeking to get His thought wrought out among men. What we have to do is to let the great creative impulse of God break in upon us, and then there will be no limit to what God may do through us.

Why is it that the great virtue of hope has become to us the least of the virtues? St. Paul put it with faith and love, a thing which no modern moralist would think of doing. With us hope is a happy accident of temperament. Something has gone wrong at the very roots of Christianity. As

I once heard a great preacher say, if men and women had faith they would be like the little child who goes down every summer lane not knowing but what he may meet the Lord God Almighty before he comes to the end of it. There is no doubt that the infusion of hope into the writings of the first Christian century lightens them up, so that, when we come into the spirit and atmosphere of them, depression dies away, and we are made new. It all came from Jesus. How are we to get this faith, hope, love? In the same way that they got it. Men and women could not come into the soul of Christ without having His vital energies stirring within their hearts and brains, and the central fact of human history to-day is that He radiates them still. It is the simple way of discipleship, the keeping in touch with Him from hour to hour and from day to day that sets men and women into this vital experience. Personally maintained fellowship from day to day is the path of life for us still. Jesus Christ has a road for everyone of us here, and all that we have to do is to maintain our daily touch with Him as we press on. That is His whole plan of campaign for Friends, and for the whole Church, against the forces of evil. He is leading His people on, and all that we have to do is to follow Him, and let Him create in us a new self, and through us a new world.

“ Apart from Thee all gain is loss,  
All labour vainly done;  
The solemn shadow of Thy cross  
Is better than the sun.

Our Friend, our Brother, and our Lord,  
What may Thy service be?  
Nor name, nor form, nor ritual word,  
But simply following Thee.”

## APPENDIX.

### MEMORANDUM.

[Issued in July, 1914, to those likely to attend the Conference.]

#### A. THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION.

Every age has to discover itself. In fact we might say that we are in a constant state of dawning self-consciousness, perpetually waking up to what we are, only to discover that we are becoming something different. So the world moves on and fulfils itself, very many never achieving any self-consciousness as more than separate individuals, but the few finding themselves supremely in the larger whole, in their social environment, in the thought-life of their generation, in giving themselves for one of the great upward struggles of humanity.

In this Conference we are looking to find ourselves not merely as units, or as spiritual beings in fellowship with the living God. Our task is to try and find ourselves as an integral part of a struggling, hoping, aspiring humanity, to feel the world's life in us, strong in great desires, passionate and pitiful—to know ourselves as part of its sorrow and its need, of its longings and endeavours, of its glorious, rich free life given it by God Himself. Only as we are ourselves partners in this great life can we come to a measure of this larger self-consciousness, and only by such a self-consciousness, by seeing ourselves as a part of it all, can we hope rightly to take up the study of the world's need of God. Detached and academic study of the situation will not avail us. *We are in the stream; we are fighting for life; "we are the social problem"; we are called to be sons of God.*

This is an age of *aspirations*, great movements of thought which are having profound influence among men. There are desires after equality, whether of status or of opportunity, after a larger and fuller life, after a more perfect knowledge of this world

and the next, after the fulfilment of national ideals. Very often these aspirations find themselves at war with society, with the existing order, or more particularly with organized Christianity, at any rate as it is understood or misunderstood by the leaders of such movements.

In many parts of the Continent, Europe and elsewhere, this has produced in almost the whole body politic an open warfare between all who stand for these aspirations, on the one hand, and the Church, as there represented, on the other hand. Relationships are quite broken; feeling is embittered; to be identified with the cause of this aspiring humanity you must rank, as your first great enemy to be slain for ever, the Church of Jesus Christ, the Son of Man! While in this country we have no such terrible situation, the difficulty is acute enough, and the danger is not so far removed as some may too easily suppose. Even though no very widespread antagonism has developed, we are compelled to confess with shame that the Church has seldom led the way in the advance to better things, that it has accepted conventional standards which are less than Christian, that its failure to give a clear, consistent witness largely accounts for the humiliating discrepancy between the teaching of Christ and the conditions of life in this so-called Christian state.

It will be ours to examine this situation in some detail, because if we are to find our message for to-day it must come, as did that of the Hebrew prophets, out of a true diagnosis of the conditions among which we live, and in which we are ourselves involved. Other gospels are being preached, and these we must examine in order to consider how it is that they have gained so large a place. We must ask ourselves what it is which is true in them, and equally what is false or incomplete; and we must not be afraid to ask why Christianity, as set forth to-day, has not been found, by large masses of our fellow-countrymen, to be the full and sufficient answer.

To look, then, at some of these aspirations singly :

1. *The Democratic Movement.*—Here we have a great cry for equality, not only in outward things, but in opportunity for self-development, and the growth of the spiritual life. The sense of the injustice of artificial barriers between man and man has gone very deep. The cry comes from many who have fought with poverty and wretchedness and hunger, who know the hard, unlovely side of life, and, seeing others no better than themselves protected and pampered at every turn, are filled with a great restlessness or even with a deep anger. To such the Church appears as the bulwark of privilege, where the masses are “taught their place,” where the poor are merely “the recipients of charity,” which has not, with some brilliant and scarcely to be explained

exceptions, really understood the meaning of democracy and the demand of "Labour." Many who have been driven to extremes are preaching a gospel which finds its inspiration in revolt against the Church and all that it stands for, and would inscribe on the banners of the new social order, "There is no God."

2. *The Scientific Movement.*—Here we have the search for truth. Our whole outlook on life is being changed by this spirit of eager inquiry, and by the application of the scientific method to all departments of life. Whatever stands in the way, be it the most sacred or the dearest, we must find the truth. Across the pathway of this great aspiration, so it seems to many, has stood the Church, thwarting, or trying to thwart, the supreme quest of the human mind. She has said: "You shall not ask questions about this or that." "These things have I said and they must therefore be eternally true," and even "That which you call truth I call blasphemy." To us it may seem that all this is past and gone, but this antagonism still exists for very many, and, even when it has gone, the results of the past will be seen for many years. The gospel which is finding a ready acceptance is one of negations and qualifications. The modern Athens has erected its altar also to "An Unknown God."

3. *The Women's Movement*—another great aspiration towards larger opportunities for self-expression and service, and a passionate desire for equality of treatment and the removal of needless barriers. Too often the Church has been out of sympathy with this movement. It has looked at it askance. In most communions women are not accorded the place to which their heroic service to the cause of the Church has entitled them. There is a real danger among the younger women (and this is extremely marked on the Continent) of their breaking away from the Church and giving their best to other work. The loss to them and to the Church would be incalculable.

4. *The Demand for a Freer and Fuller Life.*—Wherever we go we find the desire for a fulness of life, a variety of self-expression, an experience of all that human life is capable of. All accepted standards are challenged, and there is a scorn of all traditions and a tendency to launch out into the irregular. In music, in painting, in literature, that which is furthest in style from the classic is considered to have the most promise of the future. No wonder that such a tendency is combined with small esteem for the authority of religion, and that the Church seems to stand for the curtailment and even the mutilation of life, for the ascetic ideal and the constant call to sacrifice. The young life of our day does not desire a joyless creed or a prim religious respectability. There is a reaction, too, against the acceptance of pain

and disease as divinely ordained elements in human discipline, and there is attraction in the doctrine of Christian Science: "All pain is evil and to be overcome." This attitude involves a glorification of joy and power and physical health, and an ignoring of the possible effectiveness of sorrow and suffering, and weakness and humility.

5. *The National Uprisings.*—Most of the movements referred to may truly be called world-wide. There is not one of them which is not felt in Asia as well as in Europe and America. But the characteristic movement of the "new nations" of the East is the desire to find the fulfilment of a national ideal; in some cases an ideal only for the first time beginning to take shape, in other cases one which has been immensely changed, even transformed, within the present generation. These nations have drawn many of their most germinating ideas from the West. They naturally ask whether the West can help them towards the fulfilment of the new aspirations. Far too often Christianity has come to them clothed in so Western a garb that her true self is hidden, and she seems to stand for the imposition of an alien nationalism, something which will twist the national ideal into a different and less natural shape.

6. *The International Movement.*—In many regions of human thought and activity the leaders among the various nations are drawing together. It is becoming less and less possible to discuss any great question without considering the view-point of other nations. Many are realising that the old way of bitter rivalry and national arrogance is no longer tolerable. A better way is seen to be worth striving for. It may well be questioned whether the Church as a whole has yet seen all that this means for the human race, and whether she is not in many cases fostering a narrow patriotism, and an essentially un-Christian attitude towards international problems.

7. *The Mystical Awakening.*—The revolt against a materialistic view of life is already showing itself in many ways. The writings of certain modern philosophers can best be read in the light of Augustine's famous words: "Our hearts are restless until they find their rest in Thee." The vogue of Theosophy, Buddhism, Spiritualism, the Bahai Movement, etc., indicates the yearning for a spiritual experience, and for a more certain knowledge of the unseen world. This desire is not confined to a few impressionable eccentrics. Men of science, like Sir Oliver Lodge, are disgusted with the barren creed of negations, and determined, if necessary, to construct for themselves a religion which is vital and spiritually satisfying. To some such the symbolisms of the Church can still be of help, while they break away from its creeds or its formalism. Others, having, perhaps, an unfortunate experience of individual Christians or of Churches, are not finding in organized Christianity

anything which lifts them out of themselves into communion with God. There is a yearning which the Church has failed to satisfy.

In viewing each of these movements we have seen that there is ground for the feeling that the Church of Christ does not take her right place in relation to them. In each there are germs of truth, great seed-thoughts which are bursting into life. They represent the result of much that is truest and best in human nature, reaching out to find an adequate expression, yet often in danger of breaking away from that very body which ought itself to express the best and truest, and always be eager to discover it in the world. The Church ought to be helping these movements to fruition. Still more is she needed to help them to steer clear of the deeper dangers with which they are threatened. Human frailty and sin may mar even the fairest promise. The forces of selfishness, mistrust, jealousy, indulgence, pride—these are the enemies which the Church is set in the world to overcome, and which may yet prove to be the undoing of these hopeful movements.

The democratic movement is threatened to-day by the self-seeking of some of its leaders, and by the lack of mutual loyalty and a high standard of honour in the rank and file. The scientific movement fails of its best results in so far as the humility of the true scientist is replaced by the arrogant certainty of the expert. The women's movement has already suffered by a failure on the part of some of its most eager leaders to remember that liberty is not safe with persons who make lawlessness a virtue. Those who demand a freer and fuller life miss that life completely if they give way to the lower passions, and gratify desire without thought of character. The national uprisings become a danger to the human race if they lead to the erection of inter-racial barriers. The closer contact of the nations can only be a disaster unless international relationships are charged with the spirit of love and goodwill. Even the mystical awakening may, unless rightly directed, degenerate into a religious sentimentalism, or a dangerous eclecticism. The large hope with which the human family looks out upon the future is doomed to bitter disappointment unless, in seeking to realise it, we can learn to be better men and women, to put aside the lower impulses and respond only to the higher.

#### B. THE ANSWER OF JESUS CHRIST.

The claim which any religion or religious teacher makes to-day must relate itself to conditions such as those which we have reviewed in the first section. Our purpose, at this Conference, is to ask ourselves with perfect candour, if the religion which we profess contains an answer to the aspirations of our own day. Is it true that Christianity blocks the path, or at best, stands by as an

interested spectator? The point of view of many in whom these aspirations stir is undoubtedly that the Church either does not count, or is throwing her weight into the other scale. For answer, it will not be enough to quote our own experience, to give an idealised picture wrought out of our own inner consciousness. We profess a faith grounded in the historical, and we have to turn back to the records and see whether the answer of Jesus is an adequate one, whether it really enlightens our darkness in this day of grace.

We shall doubtless meet as those who hold widely differing views as to the method of treating the Bible, and as to the meaning of divine inspiration. But upon this we shall probably agree, that we find in the Bible a unique and God-given record, and that we can accept and use the accounts we have of the life and teaching of Jesus as substantially correct, and as giving a true picture of Him. Our purpose will not be to discuss our differing points of view, or to determine the exact weight to be given to particular passages. We are out to catch His Spirit, to learn at His feet, and to find a fresh inspiration for ourselves direct from Him. Coming thus with humility and expectation, what do we find He has to say to our generation? For convenience of treatment we take up again the seven movements of thought referred to in the last section.

1. *The Democratic Movement.*—When we look at Jesus as He lived among men, we find the exact opposite of the picture we might expect from a consideration of the Church and its prerogatives. He was a Man among men. He warred against the religious caste. He fought privilege almost as fiercely as He fought sin. It was the common people who heard him gladly, not the Pharisees. He was called a Friend of publicans and sinners. Nothing can be clearer than that Jesus identified Himself with the people in their sorrows and in their aspirations.

2. *The Scientific Movement.*—Jesus also made a great protest against mere traditionalism, and led men out into the freedom of the Truth. He even says: "I am the Truth." His whole attitude towards the teaching of the day is the breaking away from shams to reach out to reality. One recorded saying of His may be taken as truly illustrating His contribution to the great quest of the human mind: "To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice." (John xviii. 37.)

3. *The Women's Movement.*—It is a noteworthy fact that woman has most nearly come to her own in Christian lands, and that the non-Christian countries are still far behind in their treatment of women. This is because the Gospels are, in truth, the Women's Charter. Jesus alone among religious teachers has

given woman her true place, both by His deliberate teaching and in His attitude towards the women whom He met and loved. Even after all the centuries that have intervened, Society has not, in any country, reached the advanced standpoint taken by Jesus on this question.

4. *The Demand for a Freer and Fuller Life.*—It is noteworthy that the contemporaries of Jesus accused Him of being a libertine. John was an ascetic, with the too narrow view of life; Jesus came “eating and drinking.” It was not only life, but abundant life, that Jesus called men into. Should He not loose the woman whom “Satan had bound these eighteen years?” He almost seems at times to regard pain as essentially evil, though not quite. It was His passion to give men joy. The outburst of His Spirit after His death and resurrection was an outburst of exuberant, triumphant life. This is one side of His teaching. The new life He brought within reach of men was not new in the sense of being unconnected with their past ideals and experiences, nor abundant in the sense of breaking down all controlling barriers. Jesus came “not to destroy, but to fulfil.” The new life and the abundant life might even involve the cutting off of the offending hand, the leaving of home and friends, the taking up of the cross. Jesus succeeded in combining opposites. In His experience joy and self-sacrifice melted into one.

5. *The National Uprising.*—Jesus took hold of one national ideal and fulfilled it, not, indeed, in a way which met the popular conception of it, but in the deeper way which interpreted the best of the past, the loftiest thoughts of prophet and psalmist, and gathered them into one glorious whole. But Jesus assumed Himself to be much more than the Messiah of a single nation. He took the title “Son of Man” in its fullest sense. His teaching was based on His knowledge of “what was in man.” It is elemental, and finds its response in our common human nature, and not in the merely national characteristics. There is no more intensely and narrowly national a spirit than that of the Jew. Yet it is one of this very race to whom men of all nations bow as Lord, and in whom they find their deepest needs met.

6. *The International Movement.*—Jesus included in His programme the whole world. From the ends of the earth men and women were to come together and sit down with Abraham. They were to be “one flock, one Shepherd.” Not only members of one’s own nation, but the Gentiles also should be included in the circle of those whom we love. Even the spirit of hatred was to be excluded from the new universal brotherhood into which He called men. If there be anywhere a teacher who can bring together in harmony and mutual understanding men of various races and colours, surely it is none other than Jesus of Nazareth.

7. *The Mystical Awakening.*—It seems needless to point out that Jesus lived to bring men into this sense of personal fellowship with God. He broke away from the religious shibboleths and quibbles in order that He might bring men one by one into the very Presence of His Father. Whatever the Church may put first to-day, this surely was first in the mind of her Founder, “to seek and to save that which was lost,” to bring men back into the glad conscious relationship of Sons to their Father in Heaven, and thus into unity with one another in the family of God; this sums up the great endeavour of the life of Jesus.

It is, then, by looking at the *historical Jesus* that we are able to see how His life and His message speak to our own age. We need to root our message in this—not simply in our personal experience, however great a thing that may be for each of us. But there is more than this to be studied before we pass on to the next section. We saw how, across the path of these various aspirations, marring their bright promise, came the shadow of human selfishness and sin. Any teacher who is to lead our age to the realisation of its highest hopes must not only understand them, but have a means of dealing with the opposing forces. While Jesus sought to lead men out into a larger life, He clearly felt Himself thwarted by the forces of evil. It was no simple and easily applied panacea which He brought to heal the ills of mankind. He knew Himself engaged in a terrible conflict. To meet the situation only one course was possible. He must pour out His soul unto death. He must go the way of the Cross. This act He connected with the redemption of men. The Church has found its power actually to meet these opposing forces in nothing less than the Death of Jesus Christ. It is for us to face the fact of the Cross, and discover wherein its unique power lies. Not as a mere doctrine handed down from our fathers must we preach it, but as a tremendous life-giving message for to-day. Has the world ceased to need the story of the Cross? If not, how are we to present it and apply it to actual conditions? We cannot discuss “the answer of Jesus Christ” and leave this out. We may find that it becomes more central and vital to us than ever before. We should dwell upon this question until we get a fresh illumination, and a stronger conviction.

### C. THE INDWELLING CHRIST.

We have suggested that an inward experience is not alone sufficient to give us the message that our generation needs. We have a religion which goes back to historical facts, and we can, and must, draw out inspiration from these. This would, however, be a poor, barren message unless there were the inward

answer springing out of a personal knowledge of God in Christ. The unique thing about Christianity in Apostolic days was the perfect blending of historical basis and living experience; and its full power over our lives will only be recovered as we learn, even through stress of intellectual difficulty and questioning, that the Jesus of history and the Christ of inward experience are really one. That same tender Personality, of whose doings and sayings we read in the Gospel story, reveals Himself still within our hearts, breathing ever the same spirit, and calling forth from us, as from His disciples on earth, the utmost loyalty of which we are capable.

Our religious Teacher may have left a wonderful record of life and words, but to meet to-day's needs the living touch is all-important. Jesus lived once, and lived such a life as is needed to-day, responding to the aspirations of the human heart, leading men to a truer and higher goal, overcoming in Himself the drifts towards indifference, self-seeking, lowering of ideals, etc., and finally laying down His own life in the cause of humanity. But is this all? That certainly is an inspiring record to nerve all who would to-day identify themselves with the cause of the oppressed and the fallen. It certainly calls us to a like devotion, it shows us what the God-like life means, what man at his very highest is capable of in sympathy, in service and in sacrifice. But our age, with its fierce struggles and its terrible ills, needs something more. It needs to see that life lived in its midst to-day. It needs the power which made that life possible. The supreme thing about the life of Jesus is that it continues. He poured out His soul unto death, but He poured it into the open sore of the world's need. That death brought life as no other ever did. The victorious cry of the Church is not merely "Jesus died," but "Jesus lives." Not only Paul, but many another, has witnessed that "Christ liveth in me." His indwelling Spirit still impels the only messengers who can redeem mankind to-day.

Let us not think of the Inner Light as a possession that we can keep to ourselves, to safeguard us from storm in some quiet haven. If Christ truly dwells in our hearts by faith, something more than the comfortable sense of His presence will be given us. His presence is more like dynamite. He will uproot us from our smug respectability; He will drive us forth into the wilderness; He will send us to the mountain-top a great while before day; He may call us from home and friends to share the life of one who had nowhere to lay His head. Christ within means a tremendous dissatisfaction with ourselves and the world as we see it, a consuming passion to save men, a glad losing of life for His sake and the Gospel's.

## D. THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CHURCH.

The considerations which have brought us to this point necessarily carry us farther. If the answer to the world's need is given by Jesus Christ, and He can communicate His life to His followers and to His Church, there presses upon *us* the question, "Are we being so used, as individuals, and as a Church, to bring the answer of Jesus to the world?" If during this generation alone we had fulfilled our mission, is it not certain that things would be very different to-day? Perhaps we have been too denominational, and failed to realise that the great truth we sought to share has been delivered to many others also—that we are not the sole trustees of vital Christianity. Perhaps we have been too timid, have lacked the strength of conviction which would send us forth with a burning message of salvation, have distrusted ourselves, our message, and even our God. Perhaps we have been too self-centred even in our work for others, and have not given ourselves away with that abandon of spirit which is demanded of us if we are to follow Christ. Perhaps we have simply been indifferent to the great and bitter cry of those who have not what we have, pleased that we were not "*as other men are*," but scarcely realising that we have no right to our riches save as we spent ourselves in sharing them.

However, this may be, we meet at this Conference to face facts, not to hide them for shame, or gloss them over with our self-esteem. Above all, what is it to mean to us *now* that we are among those through whom our Lord is waiting to give His perfect answer to a world's need? We should try each one to make this discovery for himself, and we should meet in such a spirit of unity and love that we shall help one another in getting divine illumination on the problem. And when it comes we must be prepared to face joyfully the sacrifice it entails. To the Apostles the fact that they possessed this message meant that they went everywhere preaching the truth; they faced hardships innumerable, bitter persecution, death itself; they were consumed with the desire to preach Christ; they rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer for Him. Wherever a great prophetic message has seized hold of men it has been the same. The early Franciscans, "the first Publishers of Truth," Wesley and his immediate disciples—to all of these and many more so great a message was given that they were filled with a restless activity until it was delivered, they suffered gladly for the truth. The greater suffering was to hide it in their breast—"Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel."

Have we any right to consider ourselves in the apostolic succession unless we also have this spirit? Has not our definition of the word "*Christian*" been far too easy and self-regarding? We feel to-day the call to be Christ's men; we have to ask ourselves

again and again what it means. It may be that one of our chief causes of weakness is some lack in our secret prayer-life. If we are to have a progressive knowledge of Christ, we must take time to be alone with Him. If the will of God is to be manifested to us and through us, we need to take time patiently to study it as it is revealed to us in the Bible. This hidden life costs. But the cost of failure here is weakness in giving our message, poverty of life, lack of just those qualities which have sent men forth in time past to suffer for the truth. No preparation for the Conference could be more effective than the setting apart of more time daily for secret prayer and Bible study.

Nor should the study that we need to equip us for our great task be confined to the Bible only. Some of us at least are called to devote our best powers of mind and soul to the earnest endeavour to think out the problems that confront us, to understand the thought of others, and to find an answer that will commend itself to those who are accustomed to use their reason. Much of our well-meant service lacks effectiveness because we have blundered into it without taking time to think, to reach large horizons, to see things in their real relations. Our Lord's teaching of the Kingdom was given in such a way as to make His disciples think, to call forth the exercise of their powers of mind as well as of heart and will. "Have ye *understood* all these things?" "Every scribe who has been made a disciple to the kingdom" must be ready to "bring forth out of his treasure things new" as well as "old."

We have ~~also~~ to consider what it means to the Church that it is the custodian of this treasure, the body through which the Son of Man speaks His message of redemption. It is not as isolated individuals, but as members of a group organically connected with Christ Himself, through which circulates the sap of the living Vine, that we shall find as a people the answers that He would give us to the world's pressing problems. It is only so that we shall make our best contribution to the work of the Universal Church. Are we preparing our young people with this conception of what Church membership means, and are we providing opportunity for them to put their very best into this supreme task that lies before us? Do our meetings for discipline face their duties in the light of this task, and devote as much time to the solution of these problems in the various localities as the urgency of the situation demands? We must remember that to those outside who are moved by such aspirations as we have described it is organized Christianity, as seen in the life of the Churches, which seems to be unsympathetic or antagonistic. Individual Christians may be acknowledged to be exceptions. But the Church, which ought, in her corporate life, to embody and express the sympathy of her Lord for all mankind, which ought to bring His message of comfort and hope, which ought to be filled to overflowing with His

redeeming life—the Church it is which is weighed and found wanting. It is not enough for us to discover each in his own life what is involved in the present situation. We must not rest satisfied until we have seen a new vision of the Church's duty, and until we have set ourselves to bring our own Society more clearly to realise the nature of its mission, and more passionately to seek for its fulfilment.

#### E. THE DIVINE RESOURCES.

The utmost devotion and self-preparation on the part of the individual, the most perfect organization, and the strongest purpose in the Church as a whole, are not, in themselves, sufficient to bring the answer of Jesus Christ to the world. The supreme note on which it is felt that this Conference should close is the power and love of the living God. He is pledged to help those who go forth in the name of Christ. The help which He is waiting to give is, we may be sure, far beyond anything that has come within our experience. To and through the early Church God manifested Himself in a remarkable way. Following Pentecost there was an outburst of triumphant life. The gifts of the Spirit were poured out upon all classes and upon both sexes. There was in Palestine at that time a group of persons who were utterly devoted to the cause of Christ, who were filled with a great love to Him and a great faith in Him. They were of those who took the Kingdom by storm. God honoured their faith; He found those in whom He could show Himself strong because their heart was perfect towards Him. What induced this faith in them? Surely there can only be one answer—it was association with Jesus. The contagion of His unswerving faith in God swept through the early Church like a great flood-tide. There was born in them a depth of conviction in regard to the love, the power, and the present activity of their Heavenly Father which literally swept all before it. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." With such a watchword, and, following a Leader who, in the darkest hour of apparent defeat, calmly said: "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world," it seemed as if nothing were too hard for them. But—and this is the chief point—we note that the real secret of triumph was not their strong conviction in itself, but the fact that it was possible for God to manifest His power and love in a unique degree through just such persons. It was, if we may say so with all reverence, God's opportunity. Looking through the ages for just such faith and devotion, He at last found it—and behold—a new thing!

We are in the habit of saying that this was a unique manifestation never to be repeated. This itself is an indication of how little we expect from the living God. In our age the contagion which has spread over us has been that of doubt, uncertainty, the perpetual note of interrogation. Can the power of God be manifested greatly in a Church which for ever halts between two opinions? We are to ask ourselves very seriously whether we are right in assuming that the gifts of the Spirit were given once, never to be repeated. Has the Church been so dead and unbelieving that it has sold its birthright? Have we so winnowed the miraculous out of the Gospel story, so explained away the marvellous, that we have nothing left which testifies to hungry souls of the wonder of Divine Love and the miracle of redemptive grace?

In all humility, in all childlike simplicity, as those who know but the outskirts of His ways, who have hitherto but dipped their tiny buckets into the ocean of His love, we are to ask ourselves whether again to-day our Father is not waiting to do a new thing. If once we put ourselves alongside His purposes of love, if we may but so company with Jesus as to catch the contagion of His faith, if we can be given such a sight of Him upon the Cross as to know our whole souls abandoning themselves in the reckless sacrifice of a self-forgetting love—may we not rightly expect that the Divine resources will be put at our disposal for the service of mankind in a measure altogether unprecedented in our meagre experience? Do we really see the dawn of a new Day of Faith? Are we going forth to welcome it? What are the conditions of its coming, and are we on our part fulfilling them and prepared to fulfil them? Some are called to be the heralds. Are we? Our age looks for prophetic spirits and for a prophetic Church. Our Society was cradled in the spirit of prophecy. We have to ask ourselves whether we can enter into the spirit of the past, so that we, like our forefathers, take the Kingdom by storm, and know within ourselves the manifestation of the power and love of the Living God. Still more, can we enter into the spirit of the present, finding our message, not in what was given to our fathers, but in what we have ourselves discovered, and finding our driving power not in the inspiration of a great spiritual heritage, but in the endowment of power given direct to our own souls by the Holy Spirit? The utmost resources of divine love are meant to be exerted on behalf of men. They must be mediated through men, and through the Church in her corporate life. In our Conference we want to get nearer to the heart of things. We want to be seized with a new conviction of the possibilities of the life of faith. We need to enter into that life in a new and larger way. We need to go forth as men and women possessed by the Spirit, and with greater spiritual resources than we have ever known before.

## MEMORANDUM FROM THE SOCIALIST QUAKER SOCIETY.

The Socialist Quaker Society has welcomed the call to the Society of Friends to a Conference to be held at Llandudno, and very much desires to unite with other Friends in seeking wisdom and guidance at the Source where these are to be found.

In this World Crisis we desire to take our share in the deliberations of the Conference on "The Problems Created by the War." We wish to add our quota towards strengthening the hands and the hearts of those who uphold our ancient testimony against all war. The Christian way of life was offered to the world, but has not yet been accepted; it is surely the duty of the Society of Friends to keep alight that torch, in the faith that it will one day illuminate the whole of humanity. Ought we not also to inquire into the causes that have led even members of the Society of Friends to falter? May it not be due to entanglement in the profit-making system?

We of the Socialist Quaker Society cannot hide from our friends our belief that normal peace cannot be restored to the world by unenlightened good-will. The peace that we desire cannot come by merely assenting to the Christian ethic. If we inquire what things ultimately the nations fight about we shall discover that in the majority of cases the battlefield is the logical end of universal commercial competition. Military power is dependent on the material resources of a nation. In all modern countries these material resources are accumulated by means of universal exploitation of workers or subject races; and the spoils are to the few. War between nations—as the present agitation for the capture of German trade dramatically proves—is thus a ghastly struggle for the advantages to be reaped from this exploitation.

We believe that the spirit of man, even bellicose as he still is, is ready for normal peace and strenuous industry; but we have not yet evolved such an economic system as shall make this realisation possible. This is the task before us.

We therefore appeal to the Society of Friends to enter upon a study of, and support, a propaganda out of which may come such an economic system as shall help to liberate the spirit of man from his present thraldom.

In conclusion, we trust that we may be allowed to offer these suggestions as our contribution to the Conference, with the spirit of which we entirely unite. To those going forward in this spirit, and in perfect intellectual freedom, Light will surely come.

Signed on behalf of the Socialist Quaker Society,

MARY E. THORNE,

*Clerk.*

## GROUP REPORTS.

[These Reports were prepared in haste under difficulties. They indicate the prevailing judgment of the different Groups, and all but one were read to the Conference; but they were not discussed or adopted by it. The Conference, therefore, and still more the Society of Friends, is not responsible for the opinions they contain.]

### I. WAR AND THE SOCIAL ORDER.

As we have been afresh called with renewed vigour to faithfulness in our witness to a profound belief that *all* war is contrary to the teaching of Christ, we have had very impressively brought home to us the truth that in condemning this war we are condemning also very many of the features that are inherent in our social system at home. In dwelling on the truth that Christ is being crucified afresh to-day, we have been led to consider whether He is not being crucified also in much that many of us are supporting in our present social conditions.

We have also been reminded of the more direct connection between international warfare and our industrial system. It is apparent that certain private interests have been directly instrumental in fostering the demand for armaments, and in creating the diplomatic friction which has so largely contributed to the present crisis. It is again broadly true that the pursuit of national self-interest, which seems to be the chief guide to modern diplomacy, is but the extension of a similar self-regarding principle which is still widely accepted as the mainspring of industry. We are compelled to ask whether we can expect to see the end of all war, so long as we give such free play to the pursuit of self-interest, and we recognise that the consciences of many are burdened with the feeling that the activities forced upon them by the competitive struggle are often as ruthless and as unbrotherly as acts of war.

At the same time we are all stirred by the response of the nation to the call of the present crisis. All classes have been drawn closer together in the spirit of unity and comradeship. There have been manifested a readiness to accept a larger measure of Government control for the sake of a common end, and a willingness to subordinate personal convenience and individual interest to the general welfare.

We have felt that, rightly visualised, existing social conditions constitute a crisis which calls for a yet fuller and more enduring exercise of public spirit, and it is our strong desire that the present willingness to consider the interests of others may be turned into a campaign against poverty and social injustice—a campaign which the close of the war will bring urgently upon us. We feel that it is particularly the duty of those who believe in peace, and who therefore may not fight, to devote themselves to this less dramatic but not less insistent campaign.

The nature of a social order that should be fully informed with the spirit of public service we can but dimly imagine, and most of us feel very uncertain as to the steps to be taken towards such a goal. We feel that the time is ripe for fuller and more continuous discussion of what is involved in attempting to handle material things in the light of mind of Christ, and that any suggestions we can offer now must necessarily be vague and tentative. But in endeavouring to further and maintain a true public spirit in social life, Friends may be advised to ponder the following particular considerations :

(a) Since the attention of the public has been drawn to the problem of unemployment, and since, under the stress of the war crisis, measures have been initiated which would not otherwise have been entered upon, it is much to be desired that this concentration of interest should not be wasted, and that measures adopted in an emergency should not be discarded if they prove to be economically justifiable and of lasting social benefit.

(b) While as a group we are not convinced that the collective organization of industry is universally desirable, and while many of us feel that the extension of government control does not always coincide with the growth of public spirit, yet we would urge that further collective organization for social ends should not lightly be opposed out of deference to tradition, and that we should carefully consider how far our distrust of such extension is based on a desire to keep open wide areas of industry as sources of private profit.

(c) We recognise that industry is not fully conscious of the social end to which it must always be directed, and does not satisfactorily fulfil that end until we insist on the primary im-

portance of protecting and raising the workers' standard of living. This seems to us to involve a denial of the view that labour is to be treated like any other commodity, and to demand a fuller appreciation of the trade union movement in so far at least as it has always stood, and stands, for the maintenance and improvement of the workers' standard of living as the first concern of a sound national life.

(d) We desire to record our conviction that social progress can only be based on good-will. We therefore urge all individuals to seek to promote good-will in all personal relationships, and we would emphasize the importance of furthering such efforts in education and in social organization as make for a better understanding between those who are apparently or really separated by economic interests and social habit.

(e) We are further aware that the character of the social order is largely determined by our whole manner of life, particularly by our habits of expenditure. The desire for wealth ensnares us in unsimple ways, which tend to foster class differences, and in the aggregate promote war. We are sensible of the difficulties attending violent changes in the spending habits even of individuals, and we recognise that the practice of simplicity is not a simple matter. But we have been reminded that thoughtlessness or impatience associate some part of our expenditure with the infliction of considerable suffering, as in the case of lead-glaze, and there is need, on the part of all, of a constant watchfulness against entanglement in that spirit of oppression against which John Woolman warned us. Many feel that at the present time fresh experiments in simpler living are required of us if we are to bridge our class-divisions.

Finally, two general impressions are widely felt amongst us.

(1) We are bewildered by the complexity of the transition from a competitive to a co-operative social order, and deeply sensible of the difficulty of advising Friends in business as to the problem which confronts them. We wish the Conference could have found further time for the discussion of this subject, and we are convinced it must be pressed home on our thought and conscience until we find some Christian solution of the problem it presents.

(2) We also feel that amid this perplexity we must aim at greater individual faithfulness to such light as we have received, and cultivate a hopeful expectation of special guidance to solve the problems of individual conduct for us as we go forward step by step.

## II. FRIENDS AND ENLISTMENT (Group of Men only).

[This Report was not presented to the Conference, but the Committee was empowered to include it with the other Reports.]

Two questions were considered :

First, what should be the attitude of the man of military age who holds peace views, in considering the appeal to enlist?

Second, should Friends and those who think with them on the peace question take part in Army Ambulance Service?

I. In dealing with the first of these questions, prominence was given to the following considerations :

(1) The question of whether the object for which England is at war is or is not righteous is of secondary importance. Even assuming it to be righteous, the question still remains whether the means proposed for the attainment of the object are such as we can rightly employ.

(2) Without in any way minimising the heroism of the soldier who is willing to die for his country, it must never be forgotten that the purpose for which a man joins the Army is to kill, and the measure of the service which he renders is the measure of his success as a killing instrument. This fact is often obscured by the glamour of heroism which surrounds the soldier's calling.

(3) What answer can be given by the young man, who, on taking the ground that his conscience forbids him to join the Army, is accused of being willing to shelter behind the Army and Navy, but not willing to share their labour and risks? The answer appears to us to be as follows :

The policy of non-resistance is not dictated by cowardice, but is based on the conviction that a Christian nation should rely on moral rather than material force. Those who hold this conviction believe that, if the nation had acted on it in the past, the war would not have occurred, and that, while it is reasonable to ask those who have elected to rely on material force to take their share in exercising that force, it is unreasonable to ask those who take a contrary view to throw over their principles, and take part in what they regard not only as unnecessary, but as morally wrong. It is, moreover, of national importance that there should be in the country a strong body of opinion resisting the aggression of militarism at all times and under all circumstances. The need for this will be greater than ever when the war is over, and questions of the reconstruction of society come up for discussion. But if

in the present crisis those who have hitherto supported the cause of peace and the principle of non-resistance completely change their tactics, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for them to serve peace in the future. The Society of Friends, which has for centuries consistently advocated the policy of non-resistance, is now looked upon as a bulwark on which all believers in peace may lean. Every Friend who enlists weakens that bulwark, not only by the withdrawal of his direct support, but by the impression he creates on the outside world that the Society is divided against itself, an impression which he does not weaken by resigning his membership. In view of the urgent need to-day of strengthening the cause of peace, we urge young Friends and others who share their views, however natural is their longing to go out and take their part in the physical risks of the battlefield, to ask themselves very seriously whether it is not their duty—and a duty demanding a high type of courage—to be loyal to the principles for which the Society stands, and enable it to present a united front to the world.

But the attitude of a man who adopts the policy of non-resistance is not merely negative. He holds that the true method of defending a nation is to destroy not the battalions of its foes, but the spirit from which all wars spring, and which can only be destroyed by something stronger—the spirit of love. Above all other men, the non-resister is called on to summon to the aid of his country those divine energies which will make hostility impossible everywhere, and to do this needs heavy sacrifice and life-long consecration.

II. *Ambulance*.—We feel that no peace principle is contravened by men who volunteer to undertake ambulance work. Their sole purpose is to relieve suffering, and they place their services at the disposal of friend and foe alike. If it were possible to undertake this work without those who do so placing themselves under military authority, we imagine there are none who would differ from our view. But, obviously, work of this kind must be organized, and on a field of battle the responsible authorities must necessarily be the military authorities. We feel, however, that, if those serving in Red Cross work at the front can do so without bearing arms, a man holding peace views may rightly engage in the work. This does not imply any sanction of participation in the military machine in time of peace, or as part of a system of compulsory service.

It has, however, been pointed out that there is great need for medical and ambulance work among non-combatants, which, though it receives less popular support, is no less urgent than Red Cross work, and we would encourage Friends to consider whether they should not participate in it.

*National Service.*—It has been pointed out that many young men are anxious for guidance as to some form of national service which they may undertake apart from either military or ambulance work. There is scarcely any department of social work which is not in need of trained and capable workers. The Adult School movement in many districts is languishing for want of leaders. Care Committees, Guilds of Help, Health Societies, all suffer from the same cause, and there is a universal need of men who will take part in educational movements such as the Workers' Educational Association. But the need is for *trained* workers, not merely for willing workers, and we earnestly advise those who are anxious to serve, to recognise that for efficient service they must consent to be trained just as a soldier after enlisting must undertake a course of training before he can be of use in the field.

### III. FRIENDS AND ENLISTMENT (Group of Women only).

What is the part of Women in this great struggle? We may not see clearly at first, but that is no cause for discouragement. As the eye has been gradually developed in the living organism, through countless ages, in response to the call of Light, so the problems which confront us demand and will call forth new faculties and powers of perception.

Our men are fighting the battle of peace, at the risk of contempt and misunderstanding, by resisting the pressure put upon them to enlist, in obedience to a higher call. Therefore, as soldiers are being backed up by their women throughout the land, we must assure our men that we take still more pride in their harder loyalty. We believe that to us, too, a call has come. As women we are the guardians of life: it is ours to heal and to raise up, to substitute for violence the infinite power of love. These are the forces with which we must fight, and, as we only rely on them, we find that they are indeed the foundations of the world.

It is the time for women to join hands as sisters. Do not let us wait till the darkness is over. This is the creative time in which we must draw together, and unite in a conscious effort all the forces which have been entrusted to us. We think of the women in various lands and of varying creeds who are awakening to the part that they may take in the world's life.

We feel as women Friends that, beyond the duty of healing and helping, lies the need of clear thinking, in order that we may share in educating and stimulating the minds of our fellows.

In our women's organizations, clubs, and Adult Schools, the opportunity lies to our hands. In our intercourse day by day

with those who by training and association are immersed in military traditions, in our ordinary conversation with our friends and acquaintances, which all centres round the national crisis, we must try to learn wisdom to give our message with effect. Above all, we must dedicate our lives anew to the service of our Lord and Master, that in His strength we may take our part faithfully in the reconstruction and building up of a new Europe that shall be stable because founded on the Laws of the Kingdom of God.

#### IV. FRIENDS IN PUBLIC AND BUSINESS LIFE.

We have considered in this group some of the problems which present themselves to those who feel that their duty and their qualifications call them to the work of bringing, by a process which must necessarily be gradual, the life of the city, of the nation, of the commonwealth of nations, and also of the world of business, into conformity with the Christian ideal.\*

Such a task differs from that of the prophet, who may feel that he can best testify to his ideal by separating himself completely from the organized life of the community. But it is a task perhaps even harder to fulfil, and one in which the calls for faith and loyalty are no less constant, and the need for divine illumination no less urgent.

In public life, and in business, there must necessarily be some subordination of our individual will to that of the group with which we are acting. The extent to which this subordination may rightly go is a matter for each man to decide according to his own conscience, acting not in self-sufficiency, but after a sincere seeking for light from above.

We must remember that we cannot realise our vision at once. Our "reach must be beyond our grasp." The best we can do is not always the best we can see. What is sometimes spoken of as "compromise" may not be compounding with evil, but obtaining the greatest achievable instalment of good. The test of a change of position is not whether it reaches the goal at one bound, but whether it is a movement towards the ideal. For example, some friends of peace in Continental States where conscription now exists advocate a small national militia with six months' service, raised compulsorily by ballot. In such countries it might, conceivably, be a forward, while here in England it would clearly be a backward, step.

\* Business life was considered in this group, only with reference to the questions which arise through its involving co-operation with others. Its wider aspects were dealt with in the group on Social Order.

There will be occasions when the Christian will feel that the group of which he is a member is not moving in a Christian direction, or that it calls upon him to sanction an act which imposes an intolerable strain on his conscience. In such a case he will feel bound to free himself from responsibility, either by fearless protest, or by complete withdrawal from the position which he holds, whichever course he may judge to be most effective.

The moral relation of the Christian to his State and city will, however, be one of co-operation and leavening from within. It is by this method that his contribution towards the transformation of human society into harmony with the divine will can usually best be made. Only he must keep his ideal steadily before him, and always "hitch his waggon to a star."

The Christian, who has learnt from his Master the supreme worth of personality, must always endeavour to foster its development in the individual within the nation, and in the nation within the fellowship of free peoples, so that each may bring its own separate contribution to the enrichment of the collective life of humanity.

Difficult decisions as to the application of these principles have to be made when considering the measure of assent which, in the present imperfect ethical development of human society, may rightly be given to the use of force in such matters as in dealing with criminals, with rioters, with slave traders, and with a State which commits a violent breach of international obligations.

Force is no remedy. The spirit of violence or of war can only be conquered by love. But the use of force may be necessary to restrain violence and anti-social acts on the part of an individual, so as to give the opportunity for the process of reform and redemption. We must not, however, be satisfied to look upon it, even in civil concerns, as anything but a temporary and a hateful expedient. Its application must be calm and impartial. Its tendency to degenerate into violence must be watched and resisted. We must ever keep steadily before us the aim of appealing to that spark of goodness in every human being which the breath of love may fan into a purifying flame. We must seek to purge our penal system, both in its conception and in its administration, from every trace of passion, vindictiveness, or hatred.

The present war has been brought about in part by groupings of States, acting in their own selfish interests, or in pursuit of some illusory balance of power. At its close it may be possible to replace these by some kind of International Federation. To secure its establishment it may be found necessary to assent to its being provided with an executive arm, in the nature of an international police force, to enforce its decisions against a recalcitrant State. The way in which the awards of arbitration tribunals have almost uniformly been accepted by litigant States in the past

encourages us to hope that the use of such a force would only be necessary, if at all, in the early stages of such an institution.

But, if force is to be used, only as a last resort and as the least desirable of instruments, to secure compliance with a judicial decision or the considered determination of a Parliament of Free States, we think it might rightly be assented to on the same grounds as in civil affairs, and subject to the same governing principles and limitations. We must, however, never lose sight of our conviction that force has no permanent place in the Christian scheme of international relationships. We must carefully scrutinise the occasions and the manner of its employment, and seek to foster an ever-increasing reliance on the power of international opinion and good-will.

We realise how difficult it is to be perfectly obedient to the Christian ethic in Parliament, in the Civil Service, in municipal life, on the magisterial bench, in the newspaper office, in a trade union, or in a business or profession. "Who is sufficient for these things?" But the experience of those who have faced the task, in reliance on the guidance of Divine wisdom, encourages us to believe that many theoretical and academic difficulties never arise in actual practice, and those which do occur often yield marvellously to faith and courage. Christ is not merely our Goal, He is also our Way. If we each pursue the ideals He has given us, with humility and singleness of purpose, bringing our perplexities into the light of His Cross, He will give us both the wisdom to know His will and the strength to do it.

## MANIFESTO ON "CHRIST AND WAR"

By five young Free Churchmen, not members of the Society of Friends.

(Part of this Manifesto was read at the Conference.)

Many a stirring appeal has been made to young Free Churchmen to enlist in the Army. We reverence those Christian men who cheerfully and without parade are giving their lives for the sake of others, and for a noble principle which they believe to be at stake. We neither think nor suggest that those who have enlisted as a matter of conscience have done wrong. At the same time there is another course open to Christians about which, especially in these days, when such heroic sacrifices are being made, and when already the nation begins to mourn her dead, we willingly would have kept silence. But when we see our Churches almost unanimously consenting to war, and hear no clear protest from those whose leadership we would so willingly have followed, being ourselves young and inexperienced—and when we remember not only the many of our own age and standing whose consciences are greatly troubled, but also the non-Christian world which will look critically to see what action in these days the Churches take—we feel that in loyalty to Christ we must speak out.

The Churches cannot be quit of responsibility for this war, for, had our witness in past years been more faithful and true, war between England and Germany should have become impossible.

We feel that God has not dealt with us as we are urged to deal with these German war lords.

Our friends tell us that England's cause is righteous, and therefore to fight for England is to fight for the Kingdom of God. We do not deny that out of evil God often brings good; but we believe that Jesus Christ definitely rejected the use of violence for the furtherance of His Kingdom, and we think we have learnt from Him that to patient love alone is the victory given in the end. The Passion and Cross of Jesus Christ seem to us the utter

repudiation of the method of violence, and the only pattern for the warfare of the Church. He is the Way, and there is no other.

We know a little how eagerly the nations of the East, and non-Christians everywhere, are looking to see whether the Church really believes the creed that she professes. Our large indifference to social evil has raised grave questionings in their minds; and here are the so-called Christian nations laughing to scorn the way of meekness and of Christ. In this gigantic denial and repudiation of Christ we are urged without misgivings to participate. If all Christians held aloof, we should still have cause for shame that after all these years such war is possible; but we fear lest, if Christians actively take part in it, still more the name of Christ will be blasphemed because of us.

Again, we believe that, even if for the moment the right is wholly on the British side, this war is no solution of the problem. In any case, we venture upon the reminder that to the best of our too scanty information our German friends, with whom we have worked shoulder to shoulder, and whose fine sense of honour we respect, are persuaded that their cause is noble and true. We long for many things to be cleared up; meanwhile, we are bound to entertain that spirit which is slow to think evil, hopes all things, and is very ready to forgive. Miss Royden, in a letter to a recent number of *The Challenge*, expresses wonder that, while Socialists can be found who refuse to shoot down Socialists, and working men who will not shoot down their fellow working men, so few Christians can be found who will not shoot down Christians. We share her astonishment and pain; but we also wonder at least as much how few Christians refuse to shoot down non-Christians, to whom we naturally owe so different a service.

But it is urged that our nation was bound by solemn obligation to enter upon this war; and, since our Christian protest against war has been so feeble and all but inaudible, we are too deeply involved to say now that with the prosecution of the war we will have nothing to do. Deeply sympathizing with those who hold this view, we cannot consent to it. Christians are members of the nation, but before all things they are members of the Church—that is, a fellowship, whose ideals and boundaries transcend nationality, of men and women pledged to one another and to their Lord, and before all men, to be a society in the world and yet not of the world, and by their example daily to deny the world, and in all things to be loyal to the obedience of Jesus, and to be conformed to His likeness; to be a purifying, non-conforming element in the world, the very “salt of the earth,” the Body of Christ. Our bond with our fellow-Christians everywhere is closer than a national bond. We are bound first to act as loyal members of the One Holy Church, and secondarily as loyal members of the

State, when such loyalty is consistent with our Churchmanship. The Church, so far from being idle in a time like this, is called, now as ever, to be indeed the Society of the Divine Compassion, binding up broken hearts and broken bodies, working and praying in faith and expectation, and by love, for that Kingdom and rule of God which is the reconciliation of men with one another and with Him.

True enough, Church members as citizens are involved in the social evils of the various countries—sweating, gambling, prostitution, war—not only involved in them, but implicated in the sin of them, in this sense at least that “no money is clean”; but in that sphere of conduct where a man can choose for himself what he will do, and the issue is clear, no compromise with evil is permissible. Our loyalty to Jesus must be absolute. We believe, with all respect to those many Christians who differ from us, that service as a soldier is a case in point. In all cases of social evil, of which war is but one, the duty of the Church is constantly to protest, to prevent, to rescue, but never to surrender her ideals, nor for one instant to conform. If the Church repudiates her call to practise at all times and in every way the imitation of Jesus, then, indeed, “The world’s dark night is rolling on.” “Ye are the salt of the earth, but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall the earth be salted?”

We believe, then, that Christian men should feel themselves forbidden to take part in war; that the only legitimate and practical way of the Church is the way of love, though it lead to a Cross, and that in the end Christians can do their country no better service than by seeking to be like Christ, who came in great humility and love, and died and conquered by the Cross.

(Signed)

G. H. C. ANGUS.

M. S. LAWSON.

NATHANIEL MICKLEM.

WILLIAM PATON.

R. D. REES.

*September 7th, 1914.*

## LETTER FROM THE CONFERENCE

To all those of military age whose loyalty to Christ hinders them from enlisting in His Majesty's forces.

We, the members of the Llandudno Conference of the Religious Society of Friends, desire to rejoice in fellowship with you in your determined stand during this national crisis. We have met together to consider our duty to our Master and to our Country. Some of our highest thoughts have come through leaders of other Churches, who, though unsupported by the collective witness of their communities, were united with us in the conviction that war is essentially un-Christian.

We were led forcibly to feel that we had failed to live out all that is involved in the ideals which our Society has professed for 250 years.

Together we refused to admit that war is inevitable, and affirmed that the Kingdom of Heaven can never come except by the way of the Cross, the way that can only meet violence with Love.

We would not for a moment belittle the self-sacrifice and devotion of our soldiers, many of whom are fighting for their very highest ideals. We believe that patriotism has a wider and finer meaning than that expressed in military service. We share with you the conviction that our loyalty to Christ is paramount, and may even involve us in apparent disloyalty to the State. The beginnings of progressive movements have repeatedly brought their advocates into conflict with the State because they stood for ideals which it could not comprehend.

Furthermore, we are convinced that our testimony against all war must not be merely *passive*. We must be ready to sacrifice our comfort, and lose the esteem in which men hold us. "Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you."

The first Quakers preached boldly what they believed, and suffered gladly for it. Is it not our duty to go out, prepared to be called cowards and fools?

Are we not called to make our own the words :

" Dreamers of dreams ! We take the taunt with gladness :  
Knowing that God, beyond the years you see,  
Hath wrought the dreams that count with you for madness  
Into the substance of the life to be."

Many are the ways in which we may serve Christ, and, with Him, our beloved country : each man must himself seek the right path. Let us not spare ourselves in that form of service to which we are led.

Together we may strike the light which shall clothe humanity in the fire of Love.

On behalf of the Conference,

HENRY T. HODGKIN,  
*Chairman.*

FRIENDS' LLANDUDNO CONFERENCE  
TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE.

DEAR FRIENDS,

At the Llandudno Conference we have seen the vision of a people used of God for helping to bring in a new order, when the old is passing away in clouds and darkness, in strife and terror. It is a people dedicated to a fearless and uncalculating obedience, and accepting sacrifice as the law of progress, through communion with One, obedient, crucified, triumphant. It is a people undismayed by difficulties, ready to seize every opportunity, however small, however great. In the world's straits it is *they* who will think in terms of eternity, who will face the present not only in the light of the past, but in the light thrown on the future by faith in a Supreme Love, which is also a Supreme Wisdom.

Such a people is needed, now as never before, to be the seed of the coming harvest of peace. The task before them is greater than they know; its accomplishment demands a humility which would be paralysing were it not for their conviction that in the Cross of Christ is hidden the secret of God's nature and man's life.

Can we, in spite of past weakness and failure, answer the call to take our place among that quickened people, and to work for the coming of the new order?

To this task our history and tradition alike invite and pledge us; but no history or tradition will fill our Meeting Houses, as they should now be filled, with the seeker and the enthusiast, the thinker and the worker. If our meetings are to be centres whence peace shall radiate, we must adapt ourselves to actual needs and be ready for many differing lines of service. We must work willingly with all who stand firm in the tide of unreasoning passion and excitement, we must foster the spirit in which retaliation of any kind would be impossible, we must concentrate our thoughts on positive good, and help to create, in our localities, an atmosphere in which new life can grow up. And more than this, we must find means to kindle thought by studying, perhaps with some widely

separated from us in other respects, the principles which underlie the new kingdom of brotherliness which is to be set up.

We may not in this terrible time cut ourselves off from our nation, however little we may be able to agree with her methods, but we can only serve her truly as we give her our best selves, not the selves others would have us to be, but the selves which, in the sight of God and by His grace, we know that we ought to be.

We ask Friends to take courage, to make a beginning, it may be large or it may be small, and to show some outward sign of the activity and reality of their faith.

On behalf of the Conference,

HENRY T. HODGKIN, *Chairman.*

## LETTER TO AMERICA.

### MINUTE OF CONFERENCE HANDED TO SOME AMERICAN FRIENDS WHO WERE PRESENT, FOR USE IN THE UNITED STATES.

We have been privileged to have with us in attendance at this Conference several members of the Society of Friends from America, giving us a welcome opportunity of entering into fellowship with our Friends there. Our Conference feels deep thankfulness for the noble endeavours of your President to hasten the coming of peace in Europe, and earnestly prays that these efforts may not be in vain.

Interesting reports have been received by the Conference of very large meetings held with the public on alternate First-day evenings at Manchester, and Friends have been encouraged to enlarge the scope of their meetings, with the desire to draw into them others who are like-minded, and such as are seeking for Divine comfort in this time of sore trouble.

The need of careful study of the Christian basis of our peace principles has been strongly emphasized, and study circles on this and other subjects are likely to be held in many of our congregations during the coming winter. We have been encouraged to invite others than Friends to join with us in this study.

An Emergency Committee has been appointed by our Meeting for Sufferings for the help of Germans and Austrians in this country, for whom other organizations are doing nothing, and has secured the support of the Government and of many influential persons in its useful and healing labour.

A number of our young men are endeavouring to prepare themselves for the work of restoration in districts in France and Belgium stricken by the war, which it is hoped that Friends will initiate as soon as circumstances permit. In this work, which will demand much time and business ability, as well as money, the co-operation of Friends in America will be very warmly appreciated. We are assured that we shall have the hearty sympathy and support of our American Friends in our time of trouble and testing.

Signed on behalf of the Conference,

HENRY T. HODGKIN,  
*Chairman.*

## SOME PEACE QUESTIONS

Raised at the Llandudno Conference, but imperfectly answered.

*Q.—Can we justify strictly defensive war from the New Testament?*

*A.*—The teaching of the New Testament appears to be that we must never seek to overcome evil with evil, but always with good. If this applies to nations as well as to individuals, it can only mean that a nation ought to trust to moral and spiritual defences (such as a reputation for consistent right dealing with other nations), and not to armed force. While there is undoubtedly a moral difference between defence and aggression, and some wars are therefore worse than others, it is difficult, if not impossible, in practice to classify wars as aggressive and defensive; for no nation is willing to admit that it is the aggressor. Even Germany believes that it is waging the present war to defend itself against a conspiracy of other nations to prevent its legitimate development.

*Q.—If not, has Christ nothing but implicit condemnation for men who offer their own lives in order to stop a tyrant's cruelty to others?*

*A.*—All self-sacrifice for a worthy end is good and noble and Christlike, and we cannot believe that Christ would ever condemn it *as such*, or that it is His will that in the presence of tyranny and cruelty we should stand aside and do nothing. But the answer of those who have lived nearest to Him in spirit, like many of the first Christians and of the early Quakers, would seem to be that His followers must have patience even with tyranny and cruelty, and seek to "wear it out" by long-suffering. In James Nayler's words, they "take their kingdom with entreaty and not with contention, and keep it by lowliness of mind." The early Quakers, though they never used force, were vigorous in their protests against injustice to themselves and others. The recognition gradually won by the Christians and the Quakers, without any use of violence, seems to show that such patience is not in vain, if it is not mere indolence or cowardice, but is inspired by the faith

that there is in all human hearts, even in the most apparently cruel, something that can be won at length by long-suffering love.

*Q.—If the answer is Yes, who are to fight? Can we send proxies, regarding warfare as wrong for ourselves?*

*A.*—I have shown above that the answer in my judgment is *not* Yes. We have to recognise that ideally right action involves two things: (1) *Doing* right as far as we see it, (2) *seeing* the highest standard of right. The Christian who thinks he sees the highest standard would be sinful if he were to act upon a lower one; but he does not condemn as sinful those who, acting according to their light, are doing what *for him* would be wrong. He would not wish that anyone should fight for him, and he should do his best to show them what he believes to be the higher truth; so that it is not just to say that he is content to “fight by proxy.”

*Q.—Supposing it recognised that to press upon Englishmen the Christian view of war is at present futile, is there any message which we can give with reasonable hope of a hearing?*

*A.*—Yes; we can insist on the palpable failure of the effort to preserve the general peace by foreign alliances and by the multiplication of armaments. We can maintain that the strongest defences of a nation are a well-earned reputation for justice and right dealing, and the upholding of liberty and self-government, especially among weaker groups and races. We can show the reasonable probability that a foreign policy inspired by the desire to cultivate the equal friendship of all the European nations, and to help Germany to obtain a legitimate field for expansion, would have called into active exercise the best elements in German political life, and would not have allowed its more enlightened leaders to surrender to Prussian militarism as the only hope for their nation. We can insist that the present war will only increase the general unrest, and intensify the nightmare of militarism, if a *vindictive* settlement is sought for; that the only way to make it a “a war against war” is to press upon the national leaders that the settlement shall be sought on lines of justice and righteousness; that the nations must take the risk of being willing to bind themselves in the future to submit their disputes to arbitration, and to seek for what our Prime Minister calls “a real European partnership, based on a recognition of equal right.”

*Q.—What is the right attitude towards a war tax, or national loans, Consols, etc.?*

*A.*—The general position of the Society of Friends has been that a citizen must pay his share of the general taxation of the country, on the principle of “rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s.” As an ordinary citizen, he is not considered to be responsible for the uses to which the national revenue is put, except

in so far as by his vote and influence he can help to mould the policy of the nation. Indirect taxes he can only avoid by refusing to purchase taxed goods, or to use legal instruments that are taxed. As regards direct taxes, the Income Tax, Death Duties, etc., he is not in a position to determine precisely what portion of the money he pays is used for war purposes. While at one time the Society of Friends insisted that its members should not pay taxes (such as tithes and church rates) which were raised directly for purposes to which it had a conscientious objection, it now avoids any attempt to regulate their action on such matters, preferring to leave the individual conscience free. The same applies to investment in Consols, etc., though the general feeling in the Society would probably be against subscribing to loans definitely raised for purposes of war.

*Q.—Is not Fear the main cause of war, and also of social unrest, etc. How can we exorcise Fear in the nation?*

A.—To a certain extent Fear would seem to be not an ultimate cause, but itself the outcome of wrong conditions of life, which produce a consciousness of insecurity. So far as this is the case, it is to be exorcised by working to set conditions right: to secure liberty and justice and security in social and international affairs. At the same time, Fear seems to be the normal condition of savage and undeveloped human life: man goes in constant terror of foes seen and unseen. This fear is due not so much to wrong outward conditions as to ignorance, want of perception of law and order in the world, and defective insight into the nature of the Power that works behind phenomena. One of the greatest achievements of Christianity has been to deliver men from fear, by giving them power to trust in a good and loving God. But in the relations between different nations and races it has only as yet imperfectly succeeded in replacing fear by confidence. Much needless suspicion and distrust persists, and men are obsessed with the idea that other nations are constantly waiting to attack and oppress them. This fear (I imagine), like the other, can only be exorcised by wider knowledge and deeper faith: an insight which discerns community of interests beneath apparent antagonism, and perceives the reality and efficacy of spiritual forces in maintaining harmonious relations between men and nations. It should be the part of the Christian Church to extend such knowledge and inspire such faith.

E. G.

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